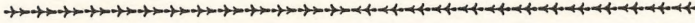


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THE EYE GODDESS



O. G. S. CRAWFORD 1886 -

C.B.E., LITT.D., F.B.A.

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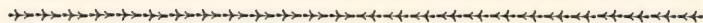
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FOREWORD



THIS BOOK originates from an idea which forced itself upon me the more I studied the prehistory of the 2nd millennium. It all began with those axes and the dagger which Mr R. J. C. Atkinson found carved on the sarsens of Stonehenge; there was an axe cult here—did it link up with similar cults elsewhere? One thing led to another and eventually the faint outlines of a coherent picture began to emerge. The axes receded and the Faces obtruded themselves. A theory of racial and cultural expansion evolved itself in my mind, arising quite spontaneously and almost, as it seemed, inevitably from the facts. This book began as an attempt to state the evidence for that theory, but it has rather outgrown the attempt and developed into a description of rock-carvings, cult-objects and tombstones in various parts of Europe and Africa. The theory provides a thread of continuity holding the facts together, sometimes perhaps rather loosely. Pre-historians may be glad to have the facts and the illustrations of them in a convenient form, and to let the theory go, or improve upon it.

I have not dealt with the statue-menhirs of France and Italy or with Faces in Central Europe; that would have required travel and research neither of which was practicable. The currents of culture or migration or both which brought them to Central Europe must have been distinct from those which carried them across the Mediterranean and northwards along the Atlantic seaboard; the tracing of their course should be a separate undertaking.

My debt to colleagues is considerable; if any have been overlooked in the acknowledgments I offer them an apology; they, better than any, will understand the difficulty of remembering everything. They will also, I am sure, wish to be dissociated from the opinions expressed, for which and for other shortcomings I alone am responsible. Without their co-operation, voluntary or involuntary, the book could not have been written or illustrated. And that brings me to the last point—the illustrations. The photographs, when not otherwise assigned, are my own; the drawings have mostly been made by Mr Frank Addison, F.S.A., to whom my most grateful thanks are due for his skill and patience.

Nursling,
26 May 1956

O.G.S.C.

CHAPTER I

HUNTING, PLOUGHING, AND PRAYING

THERE ARE TIMES when one's ideas about prehistoric origins may be clarified by a frankly theoretic, even speculative, treatment of some special aspect thereof. That is my apology for this book, and I would emphasize that much of it is merely an expression of opinions on matters outside my own special province. That statement will no doubt damn the book in advance in the eyes of many; others may read on. The field of ancient religions is too vast for one person to cover; few practising archaeologists can spare time for the study of it, and even fewer of its professed students are archaeologists. It is thus a sort of mine-field in no-man's land, and those who explore it are liable to be blown up. My chief reason for this incursion is an interest in the prehistoric rock-carvings and paintings found scattered along the Atlantic coastlands from the Canary Islands to Scandinavia, in the lands round the Mediterranean and in the African desert. They consist of an earlier group depicting beasts of the chase, the work of hunters and foragers, and a later one whose drawings are highly conventionalized, the work of people who had domestic animals and practised agriculture. Of course the latter also hunted, but hunting for them was of secondary importance. This book is chiefly concerned with the artistic productions of the second group, amongst which are included some carved or painted objects deposited in tombs, and designs drawn or carved on the tombs themselves or on rock surfaces. Of these designs the most interesting is that of a human figure, particularly the face, either complete and recognizable as such or in varying degrees of disintegration.

But a word of caution must be added. Not by any means all these pictures have a magical or religious content, except perhaps those on the walls of tombs and on some grave-goods. People draw what they are interested in, and hunters and pastors are interested in animals, which provide them with food and many other necessities of life. The earlier hunters drew the bison, deer, horses, mammoths, and carnivores; the later nomads drew cattle and (later still) camels. The Tuareg who drew camels on a crashed aeroplane in the Hoggar Mountains of the Central Sahara presumably had no religious motive for doing so;¹ nor have the Sudanese villagers who still sometimes cover an inviting blank wall with animal drawings. But after making due allowance for this innate tendency there still remain very many drawings of the earlier hunters to which the best authorities attribute a magical intention, to facilitate the hunting and capture

¹ *Ant.*, XXIV, 1950, 41.

of animals or to enhance their fertility. Animals were drawn with spears sticking into them or walking into traps; they are being tracked by masked huntsmen or surrounded by archers; and there are many drawings of gravid females. Occasionally women are shown in this condition, and female figurines also occur fairly often.

When the great ice sheet began to melt and the climate altered, some of the hunters followed the game northwards, amongst them some of those famous cave-painters the Magdalenians who have left remains near Hamburg. It may have been their descendants who, long afterwards, made the rock-carvings on the west coast of Norway, for here there still survives a remnant of the round-headed palaeolithic Borreby race.² Others remained behind or drifted to the coast where, in Brittany and Portugal, they changed to a diet of shellfish and molluscs. Yet others roamed over the vast grasslands that later were to become the Sahara and Arabia, domesticating the goat and (later) cattle.³ Some of these meat-eaters eked out their diminishing supplies with grass-seeds, as the Sudanese did down to modern times;⁴ from these a sort of bread can be made. In due course the seeds were deliberately planted and the stock improved by selection; food production had begun. This important event probably took place somewhere in the Fertile Crescent not later than the 7th millennium before Christ. It made settled life possible and must have caused an increase in the population. Moreover, that increase would not only of itself encourage migration, but would render it far less hazardous than in the old hunting days, for the growers could take seed-corn with them and plant it in any suitable place. Life became easier when released from the perpetual dread of starvation that must have haunted the hunters, who dared not adventure far into regions where game was scarce or absent. The first corn-growers were probably semi-nomadic as today in regions of marginal rainfall;⁵ and they would carry about with them a reserve supply of grain to fall back upon. Gradually the wandering slowed down, and in well-watered regions ceased entirely except for the hiving off of small groups when villages outgrew the resources of the country round. That, as we shall see later, is an important exception.

This radical change of life removed one fear only to create another. To understand its force one must put one's self in imagination in the place of these earliest farmers. They lived, remember, in a region where rainfall is spasmodic and apt to fail.⁶ Would the seed, when buried in the earth, really grow into stalks of green 'grass'? Would rain come to water it and to keep it from being parched up and killed by the sun? Could anything be done to help it grow and to bring down the lifegiving rain from the reluctant clouds? If it was possible, as everyone knew, to enhance the fertility of animals by performing certain rites, was it not possible, indeed necessary, to help Nature in the same way to yield her harvest of corn? Of course it must be possible.

We may imagine that from some such half-conscious ideas and emotions as these the

² For the carvings see *Ant.*, XI, 1937, 56-69; for the Borreby race see C. S. Coon, 1939, 308 ff.

³ Cattle can be reared in regions where rain falls only at long intervals, provided there are springs or dug wells and an adequate supply of grass, green or burnt dry by the sun. They must be watered every two days at least.

⁴ Crawford, 1951, 252, quoting Bruce in 1772 at Eilafun.

⁵ For examples see Crawford, 1954 (b), Pl. 22.

⁶ That would be true even if agriculture originated in more than one region; it would hold good, for instance, in an area such as that lying east of the Caspian, still unexplored by modern methods.

great fertility cults of later times originated. 'The clear-cut cleavage', says Dr Kapelrud very truly, 'between god and fertility that seems to us to exist was not present in ancient times in the Near East. God and fertility were one, and when one of them was mentioned the other was implied.' The cults represented the expansion of an old belief to meet a new situation. We must not think of primitive magic or religion⁷ as a thing apart from daily life; it was as much a part thereof as the actual capture of the game or the harvesting and grinding of the grain. The success of both depended as much upon the performance of such rites as upon the use of the bow, spear, or sickle. Paramount was the idea of promoting fertility and growth; important also was the protection of domestic animals from the attack of beasts of prey. There were, besides, burial rites and myths, and much else that does not concern us in this context, or about which no evidence has survived.

One imagines that the rites and beliefs about this new way of life would first have appeared in the area where agriculture began, and that there would therefore have been some uniformity about them which would not be wholly lost in the later spread. However much they might diverge from their prototypes, they would still be concerned with fertility and protection and burial. That is very much what in fact did happen. The rites took different forms in different regions from Egypt to India, but the core remained constant—the age-old desire of the hunter for 'bigger and better elephants'. It might be going too far to say that all the cults were merely sects of one and the same religion; but one might say that each of them dealt in its own way with the same problems of life and death. In Mesopotamia 'the Sumerians had built up an elaborate and advanced culture whose basis was agriculture, a fact which determined the character of the religion, and upon this foundation the structure of Sumerian society rested'.⁸ There, too, Ea, the god of the deep, represented on seal-stones and elsewhere with water flowing from his body, 'served to some extent as an embodiment of the vital forces of Nature, a characteristic that seems to have appeared as the prerequisite of divinity to the Sumerians'.⁹

In Syria the myth of Baal, Mot, and Anat undoubtedly reflects an agricultural ritual whether we regard the rite as an annual event or (with Professor Cyrus Gordon) as enacted only in recurrent cycles of drought.¹⁰ This myth has a parallel in the Sumerian Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World¹¹ and in the myth of Osiris in Egypt. In one part of the Baal Epic Anat seizes the god Mot, cleaves him with a sword, winnows him with a pitchfork, burns (roasts?) him with fire, grinds him with millstones and sows him in the field. Mot is a Semitic word meaning 'death'; Mot is the 'dead' seed of corn which is buried and rises again. Baal wears a horned helmet and carries a club; he is the bull-man, the male god of fertility; his cult 'sprang from the hopes and fears of daily life. It was created from an emotional need: the need to make human existence safe, to ensure a good future with fertility and rich crops, to make sure that the rain would come and give food and life. Further, fear was playing its part: fear that drought

⁷ For my present thesis the distinction, if any, between magic and religion is relatively unimportant, and may be ignored.

⁸ S. H. Hooke, 1953, 16.

⁹ H. Frankfort, 1955, 43.

¹⁰ Kapelrud, 1952, 128-30; Cyrus Gordon, 1949, 4.

¹¹ Hooke, 1953, 75.

would emerge victorious and the sun burn off the growing seed. The necessary precautions must be taken and all help given to the forces of rain and fertility.' But Baal had to be primed with sacrifices and wine before he could be expected to act, and it was the business of the priests to prime him. 'Festivals had to be arranged, rites to be performed. The drama of Nature had to be created and kept going through the means known from ancient times. The way used was that of analogy. This way is not limited to magic, where it is frequently used, but it is found also in religion. In ancient times the life of Nature was seen as a drama, not as a process following certain immanent laws. The whole drama could be started if one performed a series of religious acts (cult acts) which laid down the pattern for what was going to happen, and also started these happenings. Here is the basis of the Baal mythology. It sprang from a life situation, the hopes and fears of daily life, as they were expressed in the cult. The literary form of the texts is subordinated to their purpose.'¹²

This excellent account might well serve to give the essence of parallel earlier rites in adjacent lands. It is quite evident that the Babylonian New Year Ceremony, though overlaid with accretions, was originally concerned with the death and resurrection of an agricultural fertility god and his sister-consort. Some of the accretions represent successive adaptations to the development of society; they were the religious response to the Urban Revolution. As the City States developed each multiplied its gods until the total number became enormous. The descriptive list of Akkadian gods alone occupies over 240 pages of the standard text-book.¹³ The increase may have been caused by other factors such as the incorporation by invaders of the deities of conquered enemies. These later Mesopotamian developments do not now concern us. The thesis put forward here is that the fertility cults of these lands have so much in common that it is reasonable to infer that they arose in a restricted area in what is now Syria, Palestine and Northern Iraq, as the adaptation of an older fertility cult to the Agricultural Revolution; and that the chief elements of the cults were carried westwards during the successive migrations which followed, partly as a result of that Revolution. They may also have spread in other directions.¹⁴

We must, however, beware of telescoping into a single dramatic occurrence a sequence of events spread out over a long period and probably over a fairly large area. The enlargement of the scope of the old fertility cult must have been a long-drawn-out process whose earlier stages would have been enacted by nomads changing from hunting to agriculture and the domestication of animals. The mobility of these early transitional communities would partly account for the spread of the new cults; migration of larger groups would account for the rest. The earliest European agriculture was probably of the nomadic kind which would leave behind it scant traces for the future archaeologist. A brake on progress would be the reluctance of some groups to change

¹² Kapelrud, 1952, 139.

¹³ Tallqvist's *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, 1938, cited by Hooke, p. 23.

¹⁴ A possible early religious link with India is suggested by the technical resemblance between Mallowan's Brak figurines (*Iraq*, IX (1), Pls XXXVIII, 1; LIV, 2) and those from Harappa (Piggott,

1950, Pl. 8). Both have blobs for eyes and for the necklace-beads, above which is a series of bands. 'The technique of modelling . . . is found at many sites in Western Asia towards the end of the 3rd millennium', says Mallowan, who dates the Brak figurines about 2100 B.C.

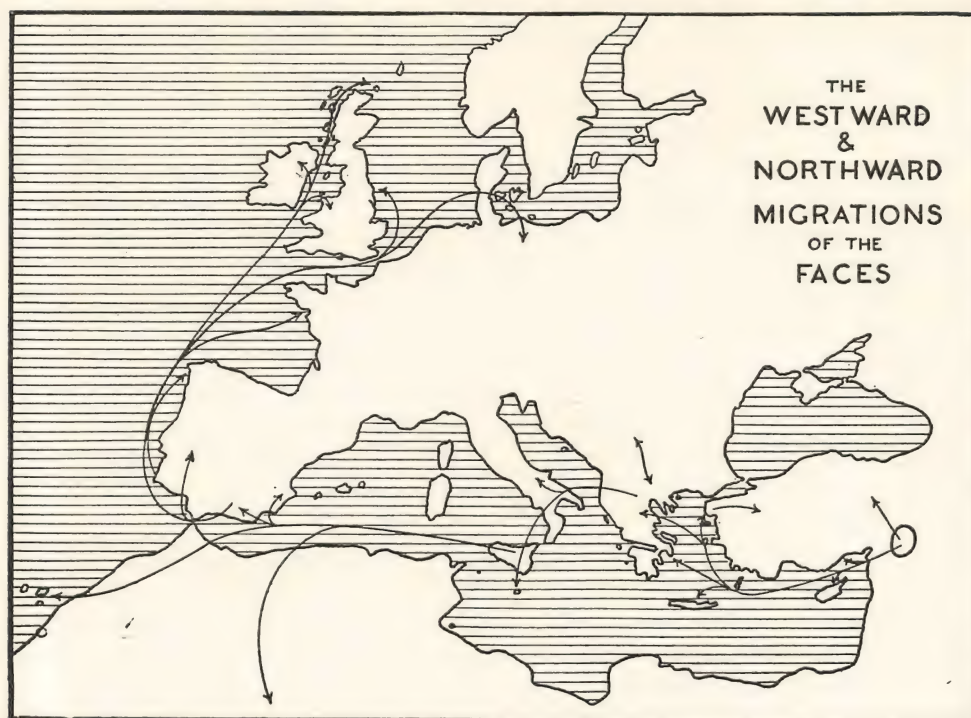


FIG. 1. Map of Face Movements, largely conjectural.

their way of life; not by any means every band of hunters would have welcomed the change; on the contrary, all history suggests that the majority would have resisted it at first. There would have been a long period during which nomadic hunting, herding, and agricultural communities all co-existed. But when the improved conditions led to the establishment of permanent settlements, the population would immediately begin to increase rapidly, occupying more and more land and eventually crowding the hunters out into the deserts and mountains. Something like this must have happened in Europe where, as we now realize, agriculture of a sort was introduced during the Mesolithic Period, long before there is any evidence of permanent villages and before pottery, our mainstay in all later periods, was invented.¹⁵

In the Fertile Crescent we now have the proof of a long period of agriculture existing before the invention of pottery. No doubt it began as a side-line of nomadic hunters, but at least by the 7th millennium and probably even before it permanent villages had been established. Given the constant mobility of the early bands¹⁶ it would indeed have been surprising if the practice of agriculture had not spread far and wide, whatever

¹⁵ See Professor Milošević's important article, 1952, 'Die frühesten Ackerbauer in Mitteleuropa', *Germania*, XXX, 313-18, and particularly the evidence

for 'pre-neolithic' agriculture cited in his footnotes 7 and 8.

¹⁶ On the subject of mobility see Childe, 1952, 23, 244.

the resistance of conservatives. On the face of it one would not expect it to take several thousand years to reach Central Europe from, say, Syria. That now seems obvious, but it is only because of recent discoveries at Jericho and Jarmo; it could not have been propounded as a serious and scientific hypothesis a quarter of a century ago, before those discoveries were made.

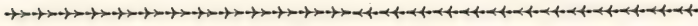
We may suppose (following Childe) that a great increase of population followed the establishment of these agricultural villages, and that, even before pottery becomes available to help our investigations, little bands of migrants set out, by land and sea¹⁷ to colonize the empty lands of the west (Fig. 1). They would carry with them new rites which had been invented to help Nature in her new role. The old goddess of the hunters had to be kept up-to-date; she had to be made to take an interest in plants and the weather. She and her worshippers were still of course interested in animals but no longer exclusively. It may have been at this crucial period that she acquired a consort to help her in performing her new functions, and particularly in regulating the weather. At Vinča on the Middle Danube both male and female figurines have been found, and some of the latter are represented nursing an infant, like those of Cyprus; but there is no proof of course that they represented deities.

Probably we should picture these migrations as a continuous process that began early and lasted at least to the end of the 3rd millennium. By that time the development of settled agriculture must have reached a point where similar migrations became necessary over the steppes and plains of Europe and a reverse movement began, directed southwards towards the Mediterranean and later south-eastwards towards India. This movement southwards of Indo-Europeans cut across the earlier route from Anatolia to Greece and Italy and blocked it, so that any future migrations westward would have to be by sea all the way. Thus, we may suppose—for most of this paragraph is guesswork—began the Minoan-Mycenean expansion (of which we have tangible proofs in Italy, Sicily, and the Lipari islands); and thus, too, the later voyages of the Phoenicians and Greeks, which were also migrations.

¹⁷ The first inhabitants of Cyprus (at Khirokhitia) were in a pre-pottery stage.

CHAPTER II

THE FERTILITY CULT IN SYRIA



IT IS NOW TIME to examine these agricultural fertility cults more closely in the land of their presumed origin. The chief documentary evidence comes from Syria and is dated soon after the middle of the 2nd millennium, so that by using it in this context I am committing a grave sin. In mitigation I quote the words of Professor Driver, who has translated the Ras Shamra texts; he says:¹ 'Although . . . the literary and religious texts as preserved on these tablets must have been written down between c. 1400 and 1350 B.C., the legends and myths recorded on them are not necessarily contemporary with them but not improbably go back in some form or other to a remote antiquity.' In these cults there are two important deities—a male god, and a goddess who is variously related to him as mother, sister, or wife. In the background is the rather shadowy figure of a father-god, who may once have been very important but who is definitely on the wane in the Ras Shamra texts. The male god is virile, and his cult is associated with that of a bull; and the goddess, as mother, has a son. These three deities recur in the mythology and cults of Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. It is not easy to disentangle their respective functions and attributes, which may often have been somewhat confused in the cults themselves. For the present thesis neither this confusion nor the regional variations of the cult are so important as its common features.

The male god—called Baal and also Hadad in Syria and Teshub (later Tarkhun) in Anatolia—is a god who controls the weather, sends or withholds rain (thereby promoting or retarding growth), dies and rises again. He is represented in art (Pl. 3 a) as horned, brandishing an axe or club in one hand and a symbol (variously interpreted as lightning or the branch of a tree) in the other. He wears a dagger or sword, a conical cap, and a kilt, and his hair falls on each side of his face in long locks curled at the ends. He is usually bearded. In Mesopotamia the goddess (there called Ishtar) is said in the *Gilgamesh Epic* to ask her father to loose the Bull of Heaven against the city of Erech. 'The bull evidently symbolizes drought, for seven lean years are said to follow his onslaught. Moreover, another seal shows heavy showers following the killing of the bull.'² Other seals show a goddess holding a bull by the halter near a gateway, symbolizing Ishtar's beneficial restraint of the drought. Ithyphallic statues of a bull-man,

¹ Driver, 1956, 1. This is the latest recension of the Ras Shamra texts. Driver describes Baal as the god of rain, Athtar being the god of springs and Yam-Nahar of seas, rivers, and underground water

which were the reputed source of lakes and rivers. Baal would thus be the god of rain-cultivation, the other two of irrigation.

² Frankfort, 1955, 43.

horned, tailed, probably also hoofed,³ have been found at Jokha (ancient Umma) in Mesopotamia⁴ (Pl. 2). At Alaja Hüyük the Hittite king is represented (Fig. 26 a) worshipping 'the image of a bull (the symbol of the Weather God)'.⁵ At Enkomi in Cyprus the bronze image of a horned god, belted and kilted, was found near the remains of sacrificed oxen and evidences of libation.⁶ 'The statue', says Mr Dikaios, 'belongs to the 12th century B.C., but continued to be worshipped in the early part of the 11th century.' The style 'shows both oriental and Mycenaean influences'. These bull-like attributes are known to have been possessed by the Ugaritic Baal, whose best representation is on the Ras Shamra relief⁷ (Pl. 3 b). In the Ras Shamra Epic Baal is pictured several times in the role of a bull; he has love affairs with a cow, seems once to be mentioned as a bull and to have horns, and he is the father of a bull.⁸

A bull cult would seem to have its home amongst pastoral communities, whose welfare was bound up with that of their herds, rather than amongst people whose main interest is in agriculture. If, as one might presume, the domestication of wild cattle had been achieved before the invention of agriculture, one might imagine that the bull cult originated then. Unfortunately we do not know when or where this domestication was achieved. The nature of the evidence, chiefly bones, makes it difficult (though not impossible) to distinguish wild and tame species. It is safer to suppose that the bull cult may not have arisen until agriculture was practised. There is no trace of a bull *cult* during the palaeolithic period, unless we are to include the bison-headed man of the cave of Les Trois Frères, Ariège, of Magdalenian age.⁹

Whatever may be Baal's ancestry there can be no doubt about the goddess's; she at any rate goes back to the palaeolithic period. Several female figurines of that age have been found, and the representations of women found in the French caves are supposed, no doubt correctly, to be of a magical kind. One of the most famous, the Perigordian 'Venus' of Laussel, Dordogne,¹⁰ is a naked figure carved on stone in low relief, holding a bison's horn in her right hand. There were traces of ochre, showing that she had been painted red, like her disintegrated descendant at Pena Tu.¹¹ She was carved on a large rock 'meant to be immovable', and accompanied by other low-relief carvings of human figures. The rocks on which they were carved were grouped together 'in a very narrow area, partly confined [bounded?] by big fallen rocks in a sort of shrine'.¹² At Angles-sur-Anglin, Vienne, Professor Garrod found a frieze of three naked women, the upper parts above the waist being absent.¹³ Though no direct connection can be traced between these Magdalenian women and the fertility goddess of the Neolithic and later periods, there can be little doubt that there *was* a connection; female figurines have been found in some of the oldest Neolithic strata in Europe and Asia.

We may therefore presume a long pedigree for the Syrian Anat and her relatives in

³ Is this the origin of the Devil's tail and cloven hoof?

⁴ *Sumer*, II (1), Jan. 1946, Pls III, IV.

⁵ Oliver Gurney, 1952, 66, Pl. 16 and Fig. 11.

⁶ P. Dikaios, 1953, 33, Pl. XXIV.

⁷ Pritchard, 1954, 307, Fig. 490. It was found in a sanctuary in 1932 by Prof. Schaeffer during his excavations, and is dated by him 1900-1750 B.C. and Prof. Albright 1650-1500. See also Pritchard,

Figs 491, 498, 500, 501, 653, 681. (I have to thank Prof. Schaeffer for most kindly lending me a photographic print from which Pl. 3 b was made.)

⁸ Kapelrud, 1952, 20-1.

⁹ Breuil, 1952, Fig. 139.

¹⁰ Breuil, 1952, Fig. 317.

¹¹ See below, p. 65.

¹² Breuil, 1952, 279.

¹³ Breuil, 1952, 335, Fig. 404.

adjacent lands. I have taken Anat and Baal as leading types because their connection with a corn-fertility cult is proved by written documentary evidence; but this is late, belonging to the second part of the 2nd millennium. It is certain that the cult is far older, and that similar ones were practised in Mesopotamia and on the plains west of it in the previous millennium and probably even before that. Though there is some written evidence, most of it consists of the scenes and symbols depicted on seal-stones and elsewhere, whose interpretation is a tricky business even for those with special qualifications; and correlation with the texts is often difficult. Gods and goddesses are shown and their functions indicated; and some are to be identified by the presence of their signs. Some are certainly deities of fertility. The subject is still new for it is only in recent decades that most of the evidence has been brought to light, particularly the seal-stones.¹⁴

For the elucidation of the western rock-carvings and cult-objects one of the most enlightening sites is Tell Brak in the Khabur valley in Eastern Syria. Here in 1937-8 Professor Mallowan excavated what he has called the Eye Temple, whose latest version belongs to the Jemdet Nasr period and is dated by him about 3000 B.C. It was therefore older than the Pyramids of Giza and the whole of the Minoan culture of Cnossos; when it was built Troy was not yet founded, the Aegean islands were still uninhabited and Crete was occupied by neolithic peasants. Eastwards in Mesopotamia writing had been in use for several centuries in cities whose life was dominated by the priests who invented it. Urban civilization had begun but it was still a new thing, abnormal and alone in an ocean of barbarism or worse. For this early period there is archaeological evidence only, eked out from later documents. The Eye Temple was dedicated to the worship of a goddess called in Mesopotamia Ishtar whose earlier name was Inanna (many variant spellings). The name of the temple comes from the hundreds of figurines found there whose chief feature is the eyes (Fig. 2).¹⁵ 'There is strong presumptive evidence,' says Mrs Van Buren,¹⁶ 'even though definite proof is lacking, that the eye-idols represented a female divinity, especially because in some cases a second, smaller, figure, or even twins, are outlined in front of her body. Occasionally four eyes are delineated to indicate a pair of figures, and once the head of one on the left was capped with the tall, pointed head-gear worn by a few single specimens which may be male. If that is correct the importance of the Brak eye-idols cannot be overestimated, for they would manifest a theophany, a complete divine family. In these prototypes of the numerous clay figurines which, centuries later, represented a divine couple¹⁷ we have the image of the Mother Goddess, her consort who formed a unity with her, and the fruit of their union, the child or children who would maintain the line of succession.' She then cites

¹⁴ The standard work on signs and symbols is Mrs E. Douglas Van Buren's *Symbols of the Gods*. Useful references will be found in her article in *Iraq*, XII (2), 1950, 139-46, discussing the Brak idols.

¹⁵ I pass over the spectacle idols whose interpretation is at present controversial; both interpretations favour a fertility cult. Professor Mallowan's discussion of the subject, of which I have made full use

here, will be found in *Iraq*, IX (2), 198-210. I have to thank him also for the loan of some of his original drawings and permission to publish them here, as well as for the stimulus derived from his remarks there.

¹⁶ *Iraq*, XII (2), 1950, 141-2.

¹⁷ Van Buren, 1930, 144-9, Nos 603-712, Figs 189-95.



FIG. 2. The Brak eye-idols, after Mallowan.

'a very important clue to the identity of the goddess whom the Brak idols represented' from a reproduction of a cult-statue at Ashur, which has 'the same rigid frontality' and 'the same staring eyes heavily outlined with colour; even the same pattern of dots to indicate strings of beads. . . . The Ashur relief proves that the eyes had not a separate entity, but were the feature of the divinity which struck the beholder most forcibly.' She concludes that it represented the goddess Ishtar to whom the sanctuary was dedi-

cated, and that the Brak eye-idols were 'reproductions of the cult-image or variations on the same theme like so many of the clay figurines of later times', deposited in enormous numbers as votive offerings. (The term 'idol' is therefore, as she admits, inaccurate, but it is convenient.) Some of the figurines bore a dot design which Mallowan suggests (and I agree) may represent the pattern on a skirt, and in any case must have some special significance. One had in the front the picture of a stag or ibex with a bird standing on its back; there were similar pictures on the undersides of contemporary animal amulets.

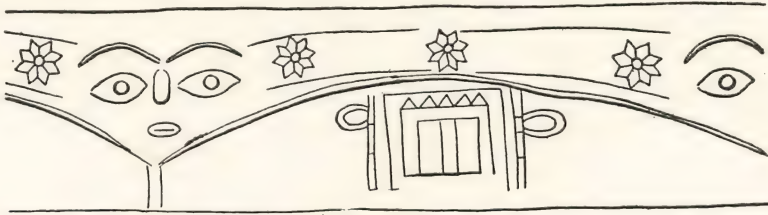


FIG. 3. Seal, Tell Aqrab, after Mallowan.

The Eye Temple excavated by Mallowan was the latest of several built on the same site, and its floor was 12 feet above the layer in which the images were found. In the same layer were found hundreds and thousands of beads—a fact to be remembered when we discuss the importance of the necklace in this cult. The shrine was 19 by 6 metres, and at the south end was an altar on which the cult-image must have been stood or sat. The outer face of the north wall was decorated with eight-petalled stone rosettes, the sign of Ishtar. In the sanctuary there was found a fragment of copper panelling stamped with an eye-design, and near the altar a larger than life-size stone eye-socket, probably all that survives of the cult-image.

The 'staring eyes' are impressively apparent on a cylinder seal of the same Jemdet Nasr period found in a temple at Tell Aqrab, which also has a row of rosettes, the whole above a shrine flanked by gatepost symbols (Fig. 3, reproduced by permission from Mallowan's article in *Iraq*, IX, 210). On the seals of this period eyes are a very common motif, occasionally in pairs, and rosettes are sometimes placed in the same 'eyelash' setting as the eyes.¹⁸

To sum up:— There was worshipped at Brak and elsewhere further east during the second half of the 4th millennium a goddess, perhaps one of a trinity, who was closely connected with fertility, whose cult-image had 'staring eyes' and eyebrows meeting at the top of the nose and often duplicated on votive images, who wore a necklace and whose sign was a rosette. That is known to have been the sign of Ishtar, and the importance of the necklace may be gathered from the fact that she swore by it.¹⁹

The use of the eye as a religious and magical symbol says Mallowan,²⁰ is rare in

¹⁸ See for instance Frankfort, 1955, Pl. II, Nos 85–94, and the pair of eyes, No. 842, and his remarks on pp. 20–1 (Pl. 4 here). The commonest form of eye is a pointed oval but round eyes also occur; see his Nos. 347, 789, 407, 86.

¹⁹ Hooke, 1953, 71. She swore in the Epic of Gilgamesh never to forget the days of the Flood; the necklace was of lapis lazuli.

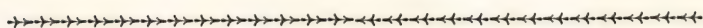
²⁰ *Iraq*, IX (2), 1947, 206.

Mesopotamia after the close of Early Dynastic III (about the middle of the 3rd millennium). At about the same time it appears in Egypt (5th dynasty), where it is likewise associated with a fertility cult, that of Horus, the son and successor of Osiris; Horus 'symbolized the renewal of growth and fertility celebrated at the Spring Festival'. Although, as Mallowan warns us, 'this set of religious concepts was clearly evolved and elaborated in Egypt itself', it has long been recognized that there was 'some common background in the evolution of the two civilizations' of Egypt and Mesopotamia. I would suggest that this community may have been due to waves of immigrants coming from the original home of food-production in Syria and Palestine and spreading south-eastwards into the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and southwards into that of the Nile. 'The Syrian connections of Osiris', says Mallowan, 'are beyond dispute, and more than one authority has suggested a possible Syrian origin for Horus who, in the guise of a falcon, first appears in Egypt as a solar deity.'²¹

²¹ For alternative possibilities see Coon, 1955, 238.

CHAPTER III

WESTWARDS TO THE AEGEAN, GREECE AND ITALY



WE MUST NOW TRACE the Face-cult westwards. One route may have been through or round Anatolia¹ to the Troad and the Aegean, Crete and Greece, and then north into the Danube Basin. Malloyan² compares his Brak spectacle-idols with somewhat similar objects from Lesbos which 'may reflect a Mesopotamian religious tradition which may have reached the Aegean through the medium of Cappadocia, where the disc-shaped idols show many analogies with the parent Mesopotamian cult-form'. These Cappadocian finds tell in favour of a land-route as against a sea-route round the coast or one by land along the coast (which is impracticable). Movements across Anatolia are easier than along the coast, whether by sea or land. The south coast has a bad reputation amongst seamen, as the Mediterranean Pilot shows, nor have any early sites come to light in the western or south-western parts. In spite of these disadvantages there is a strong case for a sea-route by Cyprus and the islands, as we shall see; it need not exclude a land-route as well (Fig. 4).

Frankfort³ traced the cult of Ishtar to Troy and even proposed a pedigree for the idols concerned—mostly pots and pot-lids. His conclusions may be sound even though some of his evidence was, as Mrs E. Douglas van Buren has shown,⁴ erroneous. The rarity of face-urns in Anatolia may well be merely fortuitous; a few *have* been found, the most recent at Beyce Sultan (? mid 2nd millennium).⁵ Dr Winifred Lamb,⁶ the excavator of Thermi in Lesbos, has collected the examples from Anatolia; they cover nearly a millennium but are all too late to serve as links in a chain connecting Troy with Syria. She points out that it is in Troy (in the first city⁷) that the oldest Anatolian face-pots have been found and that it was there that they lasted and were elaborated for more than a millennium. On the strength of pottery resemblances she suggests that 'Troy and its neighbours had connections with Cilicia, where the 3rd millennium pottery from Tarsus and Mersin can be more freely compared with Troadic wares than with vases from the plateau.'⁸ With her general explanation and route I entirely concur,

¹ For this, the later Royal Road, see Childe, 1950 (b), Ch. 3. For a sea-route round Anatolia see Blegen, 1956, 34.

² *Iraq*, IX, 1947, 201. A double-headed disc-shaped Cappadocian idol is illustrated in Gurney, 1952, Pl. 1 b.

³ 1949.

⁴ 1950.

⁵ Seton Lloyd, 1955, 68, Fig. 12, No. 7.

⁶ 1951.

⁷ When she wrote the oldest known were those from Troy II, but Blegen, 1950, illustrates examples from the first city.

⁸ 1951, 79, giving references.

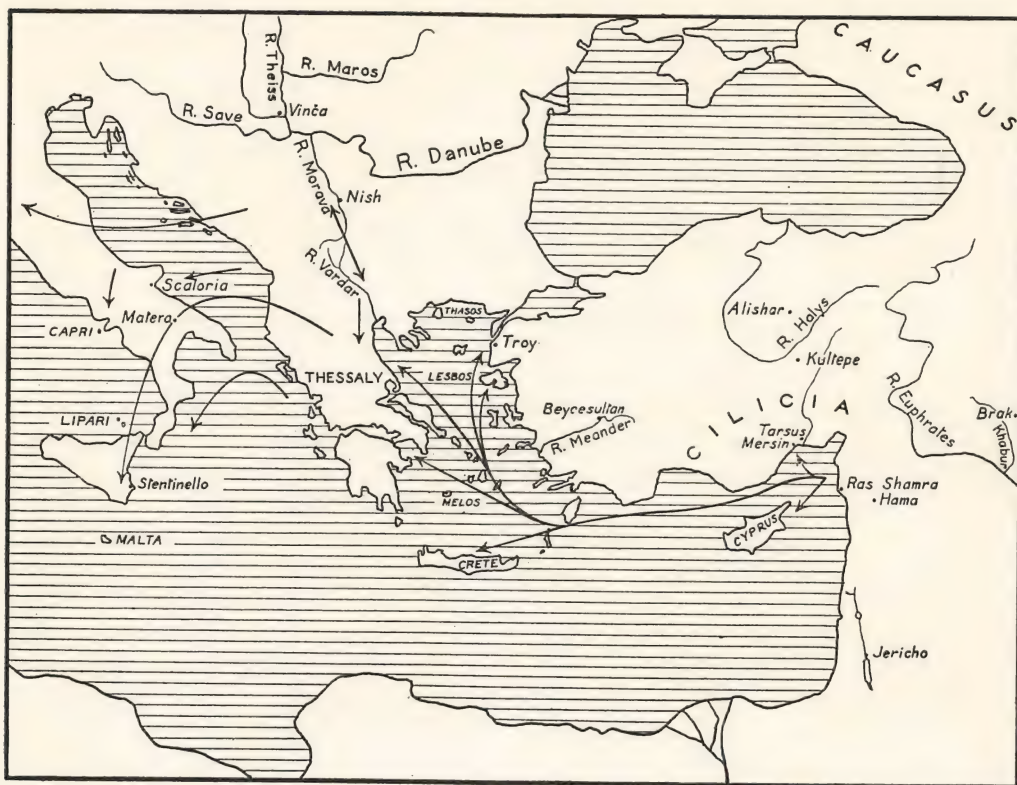


FIG. 4. Map of Face Movements in East Mediterranean, largely conjectural.

disagreeing only with her suggestion that the eye-symbol reached Troy by way of trade. But she does make it clear that a sea-route was more likely to have been followed than one overland across Anatolia; the evidence of pot-covers, from their distribution and the gaps it reveals, is quite convincing (Troy, Lesbos, Hama, Grai Resh). True, there are no undoubted eye-symbols in Cilicia, but after all, with the exception of a couple of coastal sites, Cilicia is unexplored.

The Trojan face-urns have been well known since the days of Schliemann, the most familiar ones being the latest; but they go back to Troy I (Fig. 5). The later pots and pot-lids have owlish faces, and breast-knobs and navel on the body; from the body of the pot in some cases there stand up two vertical projections representing doubtless the uplifted arms of a deity or adorant. That there was a cult-significance is strongly suggested by their mere persistence over so many centuries, and also by the discovery of two carved stone steles. One, certainly from Troy I⁹ (Pl. 5 a) consists of a heart-shaped face with a fringe of small holes; it was found with others (unornamented) set

⁹ Blegen, 1950 (Plates), No. 190. The other many necklaces indicated; see *Troy III* (2), 108. (No. 93) built into a later house (numbered 630) has

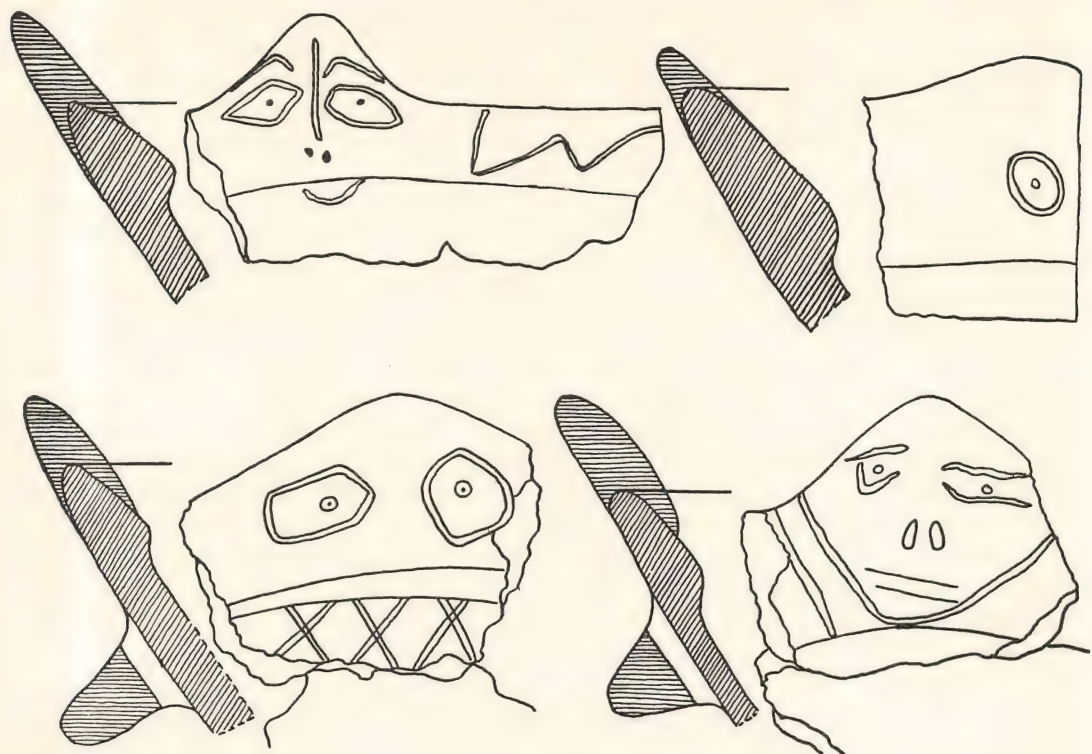


FIG. 5. Face-sherds from Troy I.

up outside the gate of the First City, and a religious purpose is indicated. The absolute date cannot be later than the middle of the 3rd millennium, and may be earlier.

The Trapeza ware of Crete was unearthed by Pendlebury in 1936, but has since been lost or mislaid.¹⁰ The pottery was found in a cave in Eastern Crete, but the strata were confused by the diggings of treasure-hunters. The cave was used for habitation from the Late Neolithic into the Early Minoan period; then during E.M. II and III it was used for collective burials, not less than 100. The two different phases of use would therefore cover most of the 3rd millennium. There were rim-fragments with moulded features; they have 'a strongly aquiline nose and long slit-eyes' (Pl. 5 b). Two exceptional sherds 'show a zigzag pattern of very shallowly impressed dots'. The Cretan analogies of this 'Trapeza ware' (especially at the cave of Skaphidia) 'clearly prove that it belongs to the transitional period between Neolithic and E.M. I'. The faces are compared with the Trojan ones, and it is pointed out that moulded decoration is rare in the Aegean except 'where Anatolian connections were strong'. The 'Armenoid' nose of these rim-fragments conforms with the survival here of 'the oldest

¹⁰ Fortunately his photographs (but not the negatives) still survive and are in the keeping of his widow, whom I wish to thank for lending them to me and making them available for publication here.

element in Crete', for which there is other evidence as well.¹¹ But all the few skulls which could be measured were dolichocephalic. Besides these face-fragments many figurines in stone, ivory, bone, and clay were found, ranging in date from Early Minoan II to Middle Minoan I. That would be consistent with the view that both the figurines and the face-fragments were the remains of grave-goods deposited while the cave was in use as a collective tomb.

From somewhere in the Aegean region the Faces entered Europe. That was bound to happen sooner or later when once they had reached Crete and Lesbos. No palaeolithic or mesolithic remains have ever been found in Greece, but that must surely be due to a lack of field-work, for I cannot believe that Greece was uninhabited when the first food-producers got there. It is difficult to date this important event; Miložčić¹² puts the second (Dimini) phase of the Thessalian neolithic at about 2800 B.C. so that the preceding phase would go back to about 3000 B.C. or earlier, and the first food-producers have arrived during the 4th millennium. 'The earliest neolithic culture of Greece,' says Professor Childe,¹³ 'extending from the Haliakmon valley in Western Macedonia to the Peloponnese and extending westwards to Levkas and the Ionian Islands, is termed the Sesklo culture. In the sequel, the unity of the province breaks up, and we have the Dimini culture in Eastern Thessaly and Corinthia and perhaps Arcadia, and the Drachmani culture in Western Thessaly and Central Greece.'¹⁴ In Macedonia, including Chalcidice and the Vardar valley, the earliest culture, which may be termed the Vardar culture, is that which succeeds the Sesklo culture in Western Thessaly and on the Haliakmon. North of the difficult passes separating the Vardar from the Danube basin, we find a series of tells extending from the region round Niš to Vinča on the Middle Danube and beyond that river across the Banat and up the Maros as far as Tordos.' The Sesklo people were, as far as we know at present, the first food-producers to arrive and settle in Greece, and it seems probable that they came ultimately from the south-east. 'Nothing like [the Sesklo culture] is known further north. On the other hand it does resemble in a very striking, if rather abstract, way the so-called chalcolithic cultures of Cilicia, North Syria, and even Assyria. The basic economy, the form of settlement, the use of brick for building, stone vases, painted pottery, a wealth of *female* figurines and ritual objects—or toys—an affection for obsidian, stone stamps, all are common to Greece and Hither Asia. Although the agreements are not precise and the difficulties are grave, it really looks as if the first colonists in Greece had crossed the Aegean.'¹⁵

Grundmann, who has made a special study of the Faces in neolithic Greece,¹⁶ also advocates a south-eastern origin and an all-sea route. Cyprus was one stepping-stone in an island-hopping migration, Crete was another, as its face-pots show. The presence of Melian obsidian in neolithic strata outside Melos proves that seafaring was practised. He even argues for a sea rather than a land connection between Attica and Thessaly, citing the identity of sherds from the Athenian acropolis with those of Thessaly, and

¹¹ Pendlebury, 1939.

¹² 1949, 40 (Table).

¹³ 1950 (a), 41.

¹⁴ As a tentative suggestion of my own I would equate some of these neolithic peoples with the

Leleges and Pelasgoi of classical tradition. See Fick, 1905, 95–118.

¹⁵ Childe, 1950 (a), 45–7.

¹⁶ Grundmann, 1953.

their difference from the geographically intermediate wares of Central Greece. Obviously there must have been seafaring to get to Crete in neolithic times, and even earlier in the case of Cyprus, where food-producers arrived in pre-pottery days.

¹⁷ Some of the Thessalian 'figurines'—actually attached to pots—of the Sesklo period were of women and hornless cattle; these things were of no practical use, so far as can be seen. One from Sesklo itself represents a female torso with the hands (now partly missing) evidently supporting the breasts; another from the same site has the pubic triangle. Those of hornless cattle are paralleled in the second (Serra d'Alto) painted pottery period of Southern Italy where similar handles occur. The skulls of hornless cattle have been found on prehistoric sites in Europe, and they are also known from Egypt. An accidental find from Thespieae has a moulded human face on the rim, and is regarded by Grundmann as the oldest of its kind on Greek soil; but the age postulated is based solely on typology.

At about 2800 B.C. (Milojčić) Greece was invaded by a fresh wave of settlers who inaugurated the second neolithic (Dimini) phase. It has been argued that they came from the north;¹⁸ pot-shapes—see for instance Figs. 22 a and b—and other cultural traits, including Faces, point convincingly to the Middle Danube region. The balance of evidence and weight of opinion inclines to a northern origin for the Dimini culture; but that statement requires qualification. First, it is probable that the ancestors of the Dimini people had themselves come originally from Thessaly and Northern Greece; and secondly, that secondary influences, and even groups of migrants, may have continued coming into Greece during the Dimini period, bringing fresh culture-traits.

The Dimini Faces differ from those of the preceding period in that they are often painted. A painted pot with collar and pedestal (Fig. 6 a) from the type-site of Drachmani has two eyes shaped like inverted triangles and a pinched-up nose; on either side are vertical wavy lines representing hair, and a row of dots round the rim (the fringe?). On the body of the pot is a double zigzag. A pot of almost exactly the same shape (Fig. 6 b) from Keneslő in the Theiss region of Hungary is decorated by incision; the eyes are holes, the sockets being indicated by chevrons, the nose by three vertical lines, the mouth by a single horizontal line; three zigzag lines below it may stand for a beard. The body of the pot is covered by vertical zigzag lines. The finds found in association suggest that the pot was a cult-object; and if the beard is such, then the representation must be of a male deity or votary. Grundmann considers that there is a close connection between the Theiss culture and that of Central Greece. A late Dimini pot (now lost) from Tsangli in Thessaly (Fig. 7), has a painted design of inverted-triangle eyes and two long thin lines for the eyebrows; a single wavy line hanging down on either side represents side-tresses. Down the middle of the pot is a single broadish line flanked by zigzag ones, perhaps a sort of elongated nose.

A different style is shown by a potsherd from Arapi Magula in Thessaly (Fig. 6 c); here is a boldly conventional human figure portrayed in very broad bands of paint; the arms are uplifted (in adoration or blessing). The cult-motive here is quite evident;

¹⁷ The following paragraphs are based on Grundmann's article. For animal cults see Appendix III.

¹⁸ Schachermeyr, 1955.

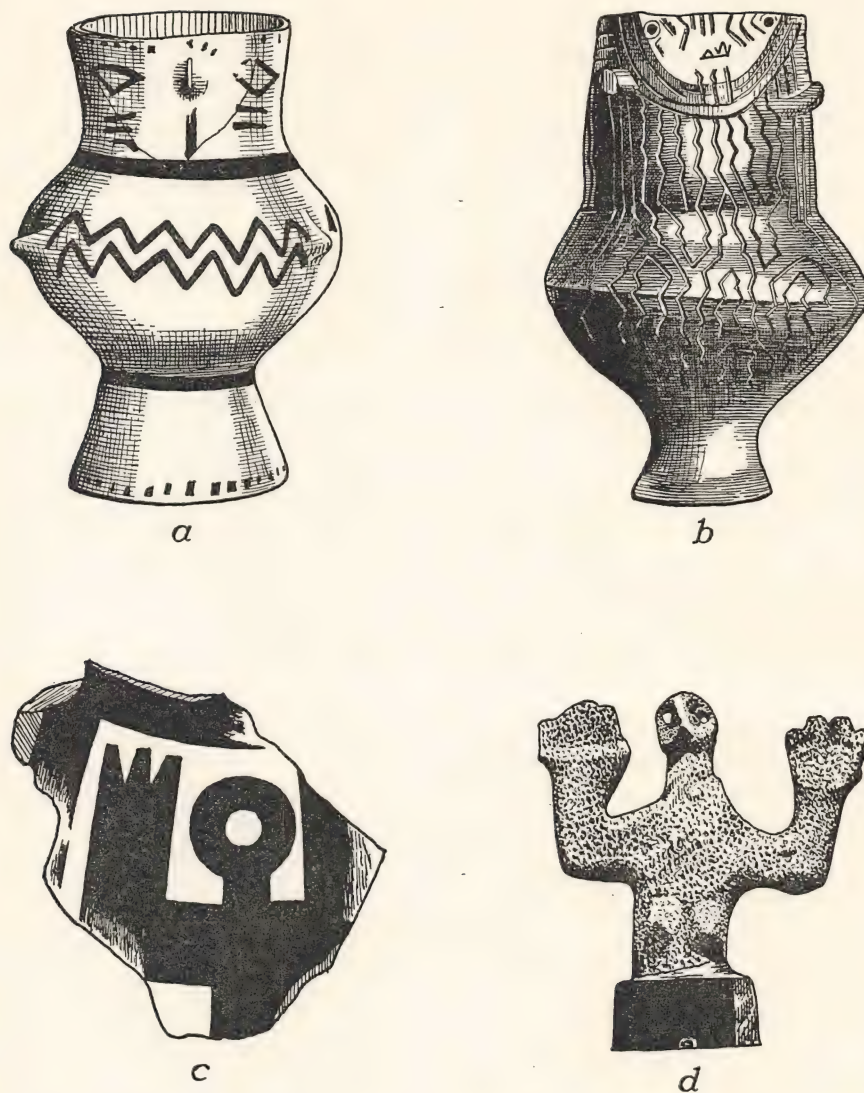


FIG. 6. Faces and figures, after Grundmann: a. Drachmani, Greece; b. Keneslő, Hungary; c. Arapi Magula; d. Moravia.

the figure is that of a deity or worshipper. There is no clue to the sex, and the lower part is missing. A somewhat similar (female) figurine is recorded from Moravia (Fig. 6 d). Grundmann notes the occurrence of similar 'adorants' from Butmir, from Bulgaria, and from the upper strata of Vinča; and from later periods in the rest of Europe. He concludes that the posture is probably of Asiatic or Egyptian origin.

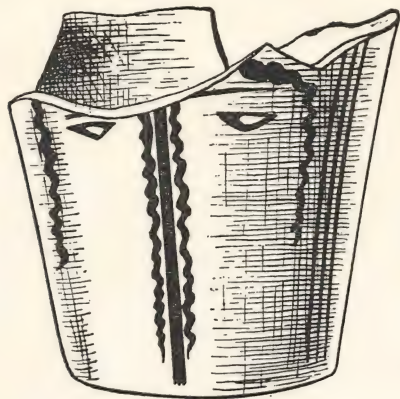


FIG. 7. Pot from Tsangli, Thessaly, after Grundmann.

From Greece it is generally agreed that there was a movement of peoples carrying neolithic culture across the Adriatic into Italy, introducing the painted pottery cultures. This is, therefore, a key area linking East and West, and for that reason I decided to go there and obtain some first hand knowledge of the archaeology, and take some photographs of the Faces. Even a short visit is better than nothing, for it enables one to read the published accounts with more understanding. My longest stay was at Matera whose museum, founded in the last century by Ridola, contains a fine collection of prehistoric pottery, and other objects coming from excavations by him and others in the Materano. I benefited much from conversations with its present Director, Signorina Bracco, with whom I visited one of the most important of the neolithic entrenched sites on Murgia Timone. At Lipari I saw the stratified settlement on the ancient acropolis, and the fine museum, ideal for study, formed by the excavator, Professor Bernabo Brea, in the former fascist political prison. Both at Lipari and later at Syracuse I profited by the instruction generously imparted by Professor Brea, to whose splendid stratigraphical excavations Mediterranean archaeology owes so much. In between I spent an all-too-short day in the Taranto Museum, administered by Professor Drago. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to all for their help, though I do not wish to involve any of them in responsibility for my archaeological speculations.

The foundations of south Italian and Sicilian prehistory were laid in the 19th and early 20th centuries by Ridola, Rellini, Mayer, the Caficis, Mosso, Quagliati and above all by Paolo Orsi; and important contributions were made by Englishmen like Randall MacIver, Peet, and lately by R. B. K. Stevenson. At the end of the last war some remarkable air-photographs of neolithic defended settlements in Apulia were taken, and others rescued from destruction, by the efforts of Englishmen. Some of these have been published¹⁹ by John Bradford, whose book on Ancient Landscapes is to be published shortly.

¹⁹ In *Antiquity*. For these and other publications see the list at the end of Stevenson's article; most of them are given also in the list on pp. 149-57 of this book.

In 1947 Stevenson published a classification of the neolithic pottery, dividing it into three groups, the last being subdivided into (a) and (b). Since then Brea's stratigraphical excavations have provided the material for a chronological sequence and shown that Stevenson's system was sound. There are two main groups distinguished by having impressed or painted ornamentation on the pots. The impressed is the older, and the Italo-Sicilian types are merely regional developments of a ceramic that characterizes the deeper layers over a wide area. Besides the impressed ware (Stevenson's Class 1) there is another kind where the ornament was scratched, or rather incised, after the pot was leather-hard (or after it had been fired, according to some);²⁰ this is Stevenson's Class II. The Italian terms used are 'impresa' and 'sgraffito'. The distinction is important, for it is also a chronological one; the impressed ware is older than the scratched.

In a short but important article²¹ Brea points out that pottery with impressed ornamentation is found at the base of many very ancient sites in the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern area, below strata in which painted pottery of Tele Halaf type occurs; and this is dated in the 5th millennium. He concludes that it is typical of the oldest neolithic cultures throughout the Mediterranean basin, and was spread fairly quickly, by archaeological standards; that though it developed special features in particular regions, it has a basic typological uniformity; and that its distribution is predominantly coastal. From this he infers that it was distributed mainly by sea during the first maritime exploration of the Mediterranean. This would be complementary to the migration described above (pp. 29 ff.), and started off by the same expansion of population. The discovery of a long pre-pottery period at Jericho may, however, necessitate some modification of this thesis.

The two kinds of impressed ware are generally (but not invariably) found together on the different habitation-sites, which cannot therefore on existing evidence be dated before the second period. It is these sites that have yielded most of the potsherds with facial features—nose, mouth, and eyes, or nose alone (hence their Italian name of *nasi*). Before describing them something must be said about these habitation-sites. There is a concentration of them round Matera in the Basilicata, some of which were excavated by Ridola and others. I visited one of them on the plateau of Murgia Timone which lies opposite the town of Matera on the south-east, separated from it by the deep gorge of the Gravina. Though quite near Matera in a straight line it is best approached from the east up the gentle incline from the Laterza road. The plateau is undulating, and the prehistoric village is not on the highest ground but a little below it on the north. It was excavated first by Patroni and then later by Rellini,²² and consisted of two enclosures, each surrounded by a flat-bottomed ditch dug in the hard rock. The eastern enclosure is the smaller, being about 60 yards in diameter, but its ditch is much wider and deeper than that of the larger western enclosure attached to it. In the middle of the east side of the smaller enclosure the ditch is interrupted by a causeway of natural rock,

²⁰ I find it hard to believe that the incised marks were made after firing; the pottery is extremely hard and difficult to scratch, much less incise, with a steel knife. Though described as 'scratched' the marks are in fact quite deeply incised (or rather excised). Surely they were made when the pottery had been

allowed to dry for a few hours and became what is technically described as 'leather-hard'. See Addison, 1949, 206–8.

²¹ Brea, 1950 (b).

²² Patroni, 1898; Rellini, 1930.

round which runs another ditch, short and curved (the *lunette*). There cannot, therefore, have been an entrance here, and one wonders whether there might have been some kind of tower built within the *lunette*. It was in the ditch of this *lunette* that Ridola found a large rim-fragment of a storage-jar with nose and eyebrows (Pl. 6 a). In the main ditch near the *lunette* Rellini found large blocks of tufa which had fallen into it and were, as he thought, the remains of the facing of a wall built on its inner edge. Though I searched carefully for loose blocks of stone, the remains of a wall, along the inner margin of both ditches I did not find the slightest traces of any; but this by no means disproves the former existence of a wall, which I agree with Rellini in thinking must have existed. Inside the smaller enclosure Rellini found 'about 20' pits which he rightly regarded as made for storage (*depositi o magazzeni*) and not for habitation (*capanne*); their width alone (0.90 m.) would make this impossible. In one of them he found fragments of a large pot exactly like the one mentioned above coming from the *lunette*, of which (as his own find had not been mended) he gave an illustration.²³ Its size suggests that it was for storing grain, thus agreeing with his view of the function of the pits. Pithoi were regularly so used in the East, at Cnossos and Beyce Sultan for instance.

The larger enclosure was probably meant for the livestock. It is about 120 yards in diameter from east to west and 80 across; the ditch follows the contour of the gently sloping hill. At the west end it is interrupted by a causeway where was the main entrance. Between this and the inner enclosure, on the south side, two rock-hewn tombs were dug into the inner face of the ditch. Both are quite obviously later than the ditch, as can be seen from the position of the stones forming a circle round the entrance. The circles round the westernmost tomb (No. 2 in the published account) are still visible and fairly well preserved; the outer circle consists of a low bank entirely formed of rather small stones; the inner one is formed of large boulders. The stones of which these circles are formed can be seen resting upon the silted-up ditch, thus proving conclusively that they belong to a much later date. Both tombs have ledges round their walls inside, like the similar and probably contemporary Bronze Age burial-caves of Mallorca. In the western tomb a pillar of natural rock has been left as a support for the roof. These tombs were excavated by Patroni. At the entrance of the eastern tomb (No. 3) a wall of large, roughly shaped blocks of stone was built across the ditch (Pl. 6 b); perhaps these were originally facing-blocks of the enclosure-wall, which would by then have become ruinous. In the entrance shaft of one of the tombs Patroni found remains of twenty-two skeletons, and in the chamber at least fifty-four more, as is stated. His account is, like his excavations, very inadequate by modern standards; there are no plans of the tombs, no mention of the finding of any pottery in them, though some tombs near by yielded 'small rings and bosses of bronze' and a brooch.²⁴ There are shallow depressions outside the larger enclosure on the south, which may be tombs. There are at present no surface indications of either of the ditches except where cleared out by excavation, but they might be revealed by vegetation during June.

At the extreme west end, on the edge of the plateau, not far outside the larger enco-

²³ Rellini, 1930, 135, Fig. 8.

²⁴ Peet, 1909 (b).

sure, I found the remains of small rectangular cultivation-plots. They are delimited by low banks of stones, the remains of dry-stone walls levelled by time; these are much spread and quite different from, and older than, those of modern or recent field-walls. I saw several of these later walls which, though ruinous, are not so flat as these. From the position of the cultivation-plots on Murgia Timone I should imagine that they belonged to the occupants of the enclosures.

At least eight other ditched habitation-sites have been found in the Matera district.²⁵ A mile further east along the plateau is Murgecchia, with an outer enclosure 130 yards in diameter and an inner one of 50 by 70 yards, each ditch having an average width of only 5 feet. At the type-site for painted pottery, Serra d'Alto, about three miles to the north, are (or were) three separate ditched enclosures, one with a ditch of over 13 feet in width. Though no houses have been found they certainly existed, as the discovery of burnt daub in the ditch at Murgecchia proves. Skilful excavation would surely reveal the houses or at least their encircling ditches, if, like those revealed by air-photography, they had such.

Apulia is now known to be very rich in ditched settlements, which were revealed in large numbers by air-photography at the end of the last war.²⁶ Here the existence of huts is proved by the ditch-circles (within the enclosures) which are broken on one side, always in the same direction, for a doorway.²⁷ Traces of pits can be seen; there is a large group in the middle of the enclosure shown on Plate 7. This is called by John Bradford, its discoverer, Passo di Corvo, and I am indebted to him for information about it. He dug trial trenches here in 1949 and 1950 and found large quantities of neolithic pottery. The village is the largest of its kind in Europe, containing over a hundred 'compounds' and measuring about 800 by 500 yards in diameter. The site is seven miles north-east of Foggia.

Similar ditched enclosures have been found in Sicily, at the type-site of Stentinello,²⁸ and at Matrensa and Megara Hyblaea. At Matrensa the ditch is broken by causeways as in the English neolithic camps.²⁹ At all these places and several others, chiefly in the east of the island, impressed ware of both kinds is the commonest and most typical. Stentinello lies right on the sea-shore about five miles north of Syracuse, and is bisected by the main Catania road. The site can also be seen from the train, but there is nothing to see, for the ditches are completely silted up and invisible on the surface; they end at the cliff's edge where they can be seen in section.

Walled settlements are characteristic also of the neolithic period in Thessaly. Now the scratched ware found on the Italian sites is associated with painted ware; and these techniques, together with the custom of entrenchment, must surely herald the arrival of newcomers. The painted pottery is, by general agreement, derived from Greece, probably by way of the western coast where sites with similar pottery occur. But the scratched ware seems to be absent, and there is little if any impressed ware. But the latter does occur in the neolithic layers of Cnossos, and the nearest parallel for the

²⁵ Stevenson, 1947, 88.

²⁶ For the air-photo-sites see Bradford, 1946 and 1949.

²⁷ For a good example see *Ant.*, XX, 1946, Pls. 2 and 3, between pp. 196 and 197.

²⁸ Plan in Brea, 1954, 143.

²⁹ Brea, 1954, 142.

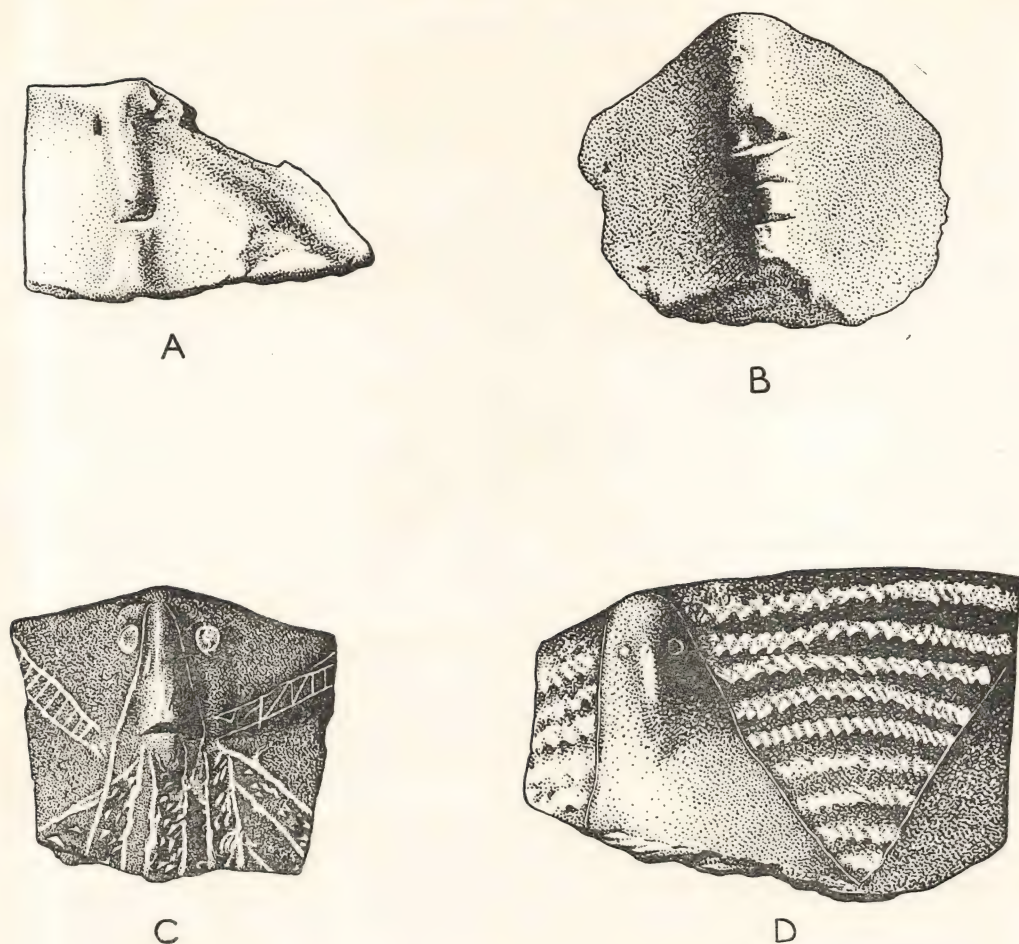


FIG. 8. Face-sherds, Southern Italy: a, c, d. Serra d'Alto; b. Tirlecchia.

Italian 'noses' is to be found not at Troy but in the 'noses' of Trapeza in Crete. Moreover, the Italian 'noses' described below³⁰ occur, not on the painted pots but either on scratched ones or on sherds which are either plain or impressed. It therefore looks as if the 'noses' had been introduced before the arrival of the painted ware people by those using impressed ware. But until a 'pure' pre-painted site has been found and properly excavated, we cannot exclude the possibility that the 'noses' were introduced by the painted pottery people, who certainly continued to use both scratched and (to a lesser degree) impressed ware. Impressed ware was in use for a very long time and is characteristic of the earliest neolithic pot-making cultures in the Near East and in Spain and Africa. Scratched ware was found at Jebel Moya and near Sennar on the Blue Nile, and at Jebel Moya there was also a little painted ware.³¹ The Jebel Moya

³⁰ See pp. 40-3.

³¹ Addison, 1949, 199 ff.

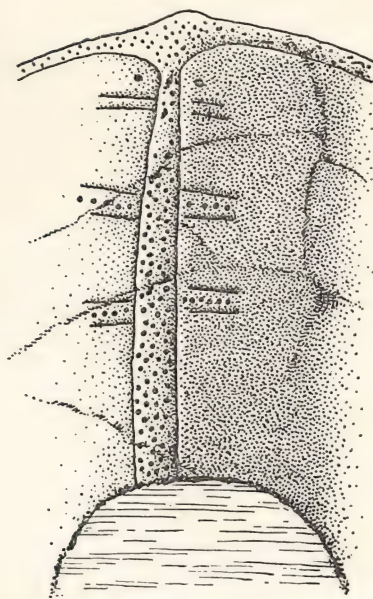


FIG. 9. Face-pot, Piano Notaro.

wares are certainly later (1st millennium), but pot-styles linger long in the Sudan, and these are regarded as intrusions there, brought by newcomers. In that case, they would have developed elsewhere and some remote connection with the similar Mediterranean wares is not impossible.

We must now describe some of the Italian and island face-pots. The faces are usually incomplete, consisting merely of a lump of clay below the rim pinched up into a ridge. In other cases eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and mouth are indicated, and the intention is clear. A simple form is quite common, such as that illustrated (Fig. 8 a) from Serra d'Alto; the eyes are marked by stabs and the mouth by a horizontal cut across the lower part of the nasal ridge. One from Tirlecchia (Fig. 8 b) is similar but has no eyes. Another from Serra d'Alto (Fig. 8 c) has round eyes and incised bands below and at the sides, and the rim also projects slightly above the nose. A more elaborate design (Pl. 8 a) from the village of Trefontane near Etna in Sicily has a moulded nose demarcated by two vertical incised lines; the eyes are indicated by deeply impressed circles that seem to have been made with a hollow stick or bone and have two stabs each for the pupils; below each run two vertical lines with a shorter one at the lower ends, of doubtful significance. The eyelashes are indicated by four short lines above the eye-circles. Round the lip of the pot is a row of crosses, and at the bottom of the collar a row of curved strokes. The marks were all impressed on the clay while it was wet. A rim-piece from Serra d'Alto (Fig. 8 d) has a plain nose with eyes closely set beside it, on each side of which are triangles bounded by thin lines drawn in the wet clay (i.e. impressed, in the terminology adopted) and filled with horizontal rows of *scratched* zigzag lines. (Note the combination of the two techniques.)

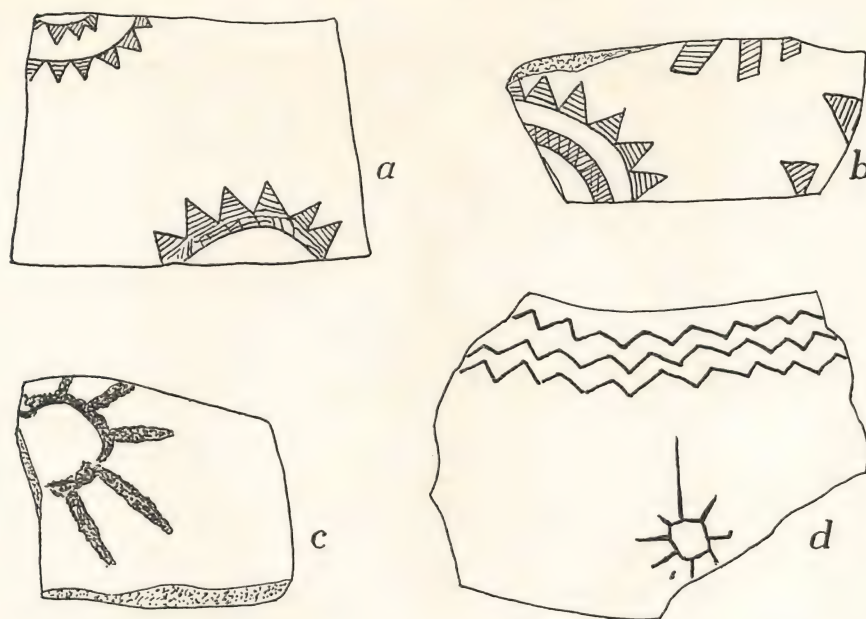


FIG. 10. Sherds with eye-like decorations: a, b, d, Leporano; c, Serra d'Alto.

The large rim-fragment from the lunette (Pl. 6 a; mentioned above on p. 37) has a T-shaped raised design with eyes faintly visible in the angles; on either side, set some distance away, are two curved ribs expanded at the upper end into a round, slightly concave blob; these recall the sheep-pen symbols of Sumeria (see Pl. 1), but it would be very rash to suggest any connection with them in the absence of intermediate links. On the shoulder between them is a row of similar blobs. On the collar of a pot (Pl. 8 b) from the cave of Scaloria, on the bay south of the Gargano peninsula, both nose and eyebrows are shown.³² A flat-bottomed bowl in the Syracuse Museum³³ (Fig. 9) has, below the usual rim-hump, a long vertical band reaching right to the base and filled with dots; from either side run three pairs of short horizontal bands, and above the topmost pair (which has no dots) are two bigger dots for the eyes. These bands might be interpreted as standing for the trunk, mouth, arms, and legs. On the body of the pot (omitted in Fig. 9) are vertical wavy dot-filled bands and rows of plain dots.

Besides these designs whose meaning is generally pretty obvious are others (Fig. 10) difficult to interpret. (I believe that most of the patterns on early pottery originally had some meaning.³⁴) There are circles with short lines radiating from the circumference, and others where the rays are replaced by hatched triangles, giving the whole a star-like appearance. Possibly they were meant for eyes or even breasts (which are occasionally shown by this convention; see, for example, Fig. 18 d). But the sherds are

³² Rellini, 1934, 79, Fig. 52.

³³ Labelled 'Gela: sepolchri del predio Iozza, Piano Notaro', and illustrated by Brea, 1954, Pl. V, 2, but from another angle.

³⁴ 'Ornament', said Westermarck (1926, I, 455), is put on 'not only to embellish, but also to protect, the object on which it is painted, embroidered, or engraved'.

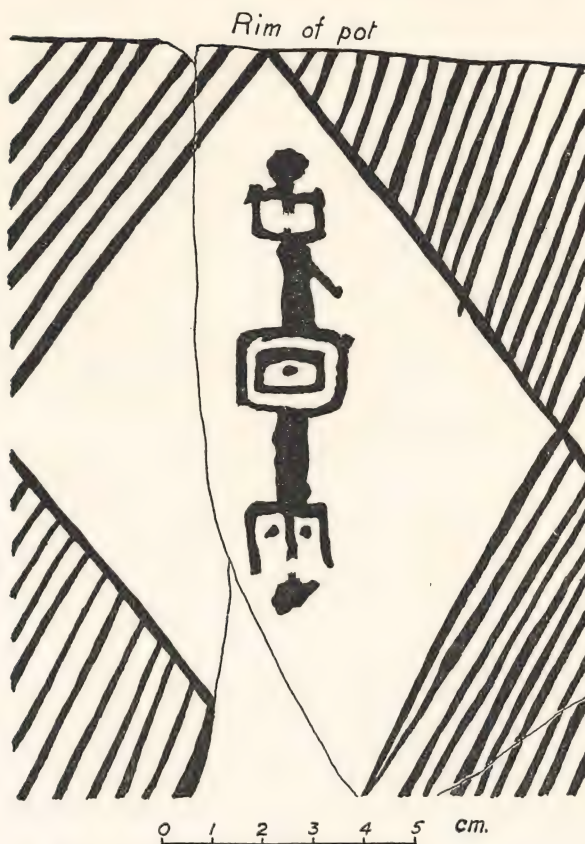


FIG. 11. Painted figures on sherd from La Quercia.

fragmentary, and without the rest of the pattern one cannot attempt an interpretation. Those in Fig. 10 come from Leporano and Serra d'Alto.

A very interesting rim-fragment from La Quercia in Apulia, excavated by Bradford (by whose kind permission it is illustrated here, Fig. 11) has two opposed human figures, male and female, painted in red on a reddish-yellow background. Below a horizontal red band are rows of incised crescents, made with a rocker, a type of decoration that has a very wide diffusion^{34a}. This is one of Bradford's neolithic sites, discovered from the air.

An excellent face is seen on a sherd from Leporano (Fig. 12) now in the Taranto Museum. It was found in 1938 in a hut-site excavated by the Antiquities Department on the plateau called Saturo, and has been described by Signor Drago in *Autoctonia del Salento*, pp. 45-6, note 4. In 1951 a similar sherd was found by Professor Acanfora in Franca Villa Fontana (Brindisi).³⁵

^{34a} For a somewhat similar modern male and female design see Bull. Pal. LXIV, 131, Fig. 10, from the West Sudan (after Frobenius). See also (perhaps) Fig. 44g below, p. 126.

³⁵ *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche*, VII, 1952, 225, Figs 8 and 11.

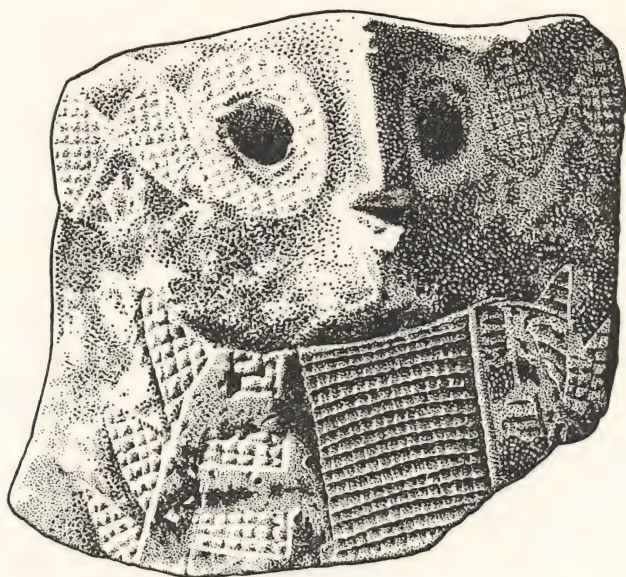


FIG. 12. Face-sherd, Leporano.

In the Syracuse Museum are some sherds from Trefontane and Stentinello with impressed eye-signs (Pl. 14). All except one are lozenge-shaped and several have eye-lashes at the top.

All these designs from Italy belong to the 3rd millennium; Brea³⁶ puts the impressed ware before 2600 B.C., and that is the date he assigns to the introduction of painted ware. This agrees reasonably well with Milošević's date of about 2800 for the second (Dimini) phase of the Thessalian neolithic. But in Sicily impressed ware, whatever the date of its arrival may have been, lasted in use longer than in Italy, so that the specimens from Trefontane and Gela just mentioned may be later than the rest. Brea considers that the Stentinello culture (to which they belong) may have lasted in Sicily to the end of the 3rd millennium. On this evidence, therefore, we cannot put the first appearance of the Faces in Sicily much if at all before 2000 B.C., even though it may seem likely for other reasons that they arrived there long before, with the makers of scratched ware.

We now leave the 3rd millennium and enter the 2nd, though it is not till nearly the middle of it (so far as can be guessed) that the Faces re-appear, in the famous Castelluccio period, dated by Brea c. 1850-1400 B.C. Here not far from Syracuse is a cemetery of rock-hewn tombs that was explored by Orsi and yielded several objects now familiar to every student. One is a pair of stone slabs from the entrance of an inner chamber (Pl. 10 a). The front or outer slab has a piece cut out in the shape of a U, on either side of which are two bosses a foot apart (centre to centre). The inner slab was placed immediately behind it so that an oval excrescence (10 inches high and 6 wide)

³⁶ 1946, 343.

carved out from the middle of the slab, lies in the U. The whole represents a female torso with breasts, head, and uplifted arms,³⁷ and it has been regarded as the image of the funerary goddess.³⁸ The uplifted arms are usually thought of as indicating worshipper rather than worshipped, but there are plenty of examples, both in Crete and in the Near East, of deities themselves represented with arms uplifted. So these slabs correspond in intention to the figures of deities carved on megalithic monuments in Spain, Brittany, Guernsey, and the Marne caves; and to the statue-menhirs.

There are two other carved slabs in the Syracuse Museum, both from tombs at Castelluccio (Pl. 10 b). The first has two spirals clearly cut in low relief at the top, below a sort of cap. Since this slab presumably had the same intention as the ones just described we are justified in interpreting it on similar lines. The spirals stand for eyes; the wedge left between them is the nose; below is the neck, divided into two by a deep groove; from the lower end start the shoulders, continued as arms; and below are two plain discs representing breasts. The whole slab is 3 feet high. The second slab (not illustrated) is very similar, except that the two lower discs are also carved with spirals. We are reminded of the pair of finely carved large spirals on a slab in the main entrance of Hal Tarxien, Malta.

These tomb-slabs are not the only evidence of the cult of a funerary deity to be found in the Castelluccio cemetery, for it has also produced seven of the ten Sicilian bossed bone plaques (Fig. 13). These, and others found elsewhere, have recently been fully listed, described, and illustrated by Professor John Evans,³⁹ so that a detailed account need not be given here. They were made from the long bones of an animal, split down the middle. The bosses are round or slightly oval, and normally every alternate boss carries a decoration which in the best examples is very finely executed; the upper surface has a high polish. The design on the uppermost boss is clearly meant for a pair of eyes; the ones on the other bosses are interpreted by Evans as representing various bodily features. Similar plaques have been found elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Syracuse—one in the Grotta Lazzaro and two at Santa Croce—and all were associated with remains of the Castelluccio culture.

Outside Sicily similar plaques, mostly unornamented, have been found at Troy (at least three), Lerna on the Gulf of Argolis and at Hal Tarxien in Malta. One of the Trojan examples, found by Schliemann, is ornamented like the Sicilian examples, the eyes being perfectly obvious. The Lerna plaque is assigned⁴⁰ by the excavator Dr Caskey to a stratum that seems to be intermediate between the Early and Middle Helladic periods, and it cannot therefore be much later than 1900 B.C. It was once thought that the Sicilian plaques were imports from Troy, and that they could thus help out the chronology of Sicilian prehistory. That is still possible in a general way,

³⁷ As can be seen on Pl. 10 a, at the top of the 'head' are two chips which look rather as if they were meant for eyes; and two others near the bottom might be taken for the mouth. Prof. Brea and I examined them together in the Syracuse Museum, and he thought they were probably accidental, so that they had better be forgotten.

³⁸ Childe, 1950 (b), 230, and Fig. 113. This well-worn block is from an old drawing and is very misleading. The edges, as can be seen from Pl. 10 a, are not sharp and the whole is far cruder than one would think from the way it is shown.

³⁹ *Ant.*, XXX, 1956, 80-93.

⁴⁰ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, Pl. IX, Fig. 9; *Archaeology*, Spring, 1954, 29-30.

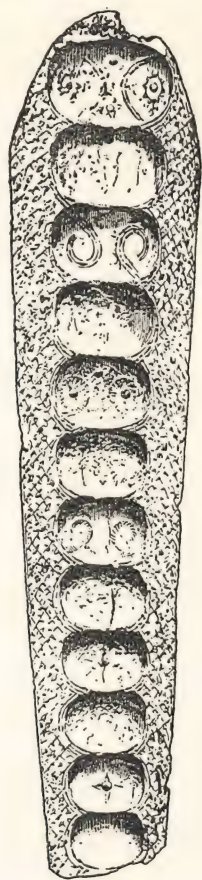


FIG. 13. Bossed bone plaque, Castelluccio, Sicily.

for they are not likely to have been made, at any rate in exactly the same style, for a long period of time. But only the Lerna plaque is really helpful, for the Trojan ones are all of doubtful gisement. They may also give a clue to the original home of the Castelluccio culture, which as Evans reminds us is intrusive, and cannot have developed from the native impressed ware culture. Brea has long emphasized the East Mediterranean (chiefly Greek and Aegean) aspects of the Castelluccio culture, and in those parts the Face Cult had flourished from an early (3rd millennium) date. It was from there that the neolithic Italian faces were derived, as we have seen. The Castelluccio representations would thus indicate a re-introduction of the cult from the same source. We might say, in other words, that when the Castelluccio people arrived in Sicily, they probably found the inhabitants holding religious beliefs and performing rites very similar to their own. Both practised the Mediterranean religion.

The custom of putting face-designs on pots reappears in Sicily during the next culture-period, that of Cozzo del Pantano, dated by Brea from 1400 to 1000 B.C. From here

came two carinated bowls with large flat handles on which both eyes and breasts are shown. On the first (Pl. 11 a) the breasts only appear; down the middle is a vertical division with oblique grooves branching off on either side. The second (Pl. 11 b) has an obvious pair of eyes with lashes. (The centres are partly restored, but the strokes are original.) A chevron-band below may represent the necklace, or perhaps the arms. Both handles end in a couple of horn-like prolongations, forerunners of the later *ansa*

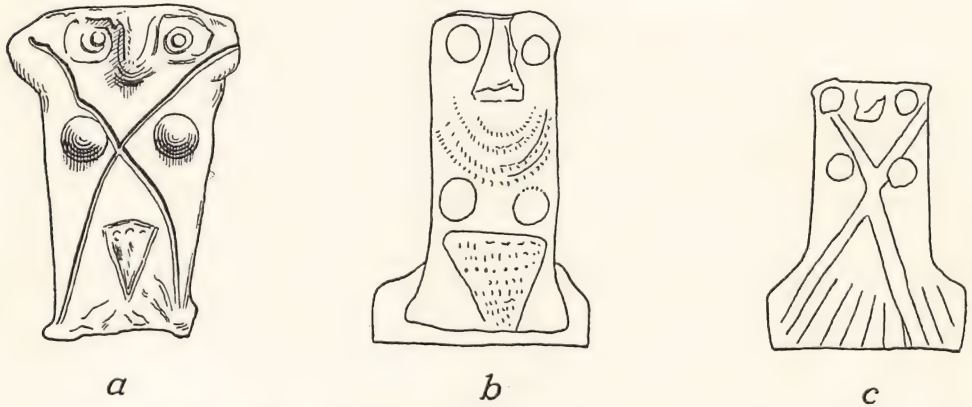


FIG. 14. Mesopotamian pot-handles, after Contenau: a. Susa; b. Kish; c. Kish.

lunata. On the second the edge between the horns has a row of strokes, perhaps standing for the fringe, and at the back is a vertical band with chevrons in it, probably a pigtail. At the foot of the handle on both sides are more chevrons, perhaps for the hem of a garment. The second had also a loop-handle (now broken off) at the back of the flat one. Both these bowls were found in tombs, others of which yielded important Mycenaean pottery and bronze objects.⁴¹

Examples of similarly ornamented pot-handles of a much earlier date were found at Susa and Kish (Fig. 14). Three, all alike in essential features, were illustrated by Contenau;⁴² there are two round eyes and a shapeless nose; lower down are two round bosses for the breasts. The whole is crossed by two intersecting lines (absent in one of the Kish examples). At the bottom is the pubic triangle. On one of the Kish examples four rows of short strokes indicate necklaces.

The Sicilian horns are a new feature, introduced perhaps by the newcomers of the preceding Castelluccio period. They form yet another link with the East, for they must surely be connected with the sacral horns of Crete and Anatolia. Both sacral horns—what Sir Arthur Evans used to call ‘Horns of Consecration’—and pots with pairs of horned lugs rather like these Italian ones were found in a shrine at Beyce Sultan dated to Troy II (*The Times*, 11 December 1956). They have had a long life in Italy where the

⁴¹ Orsi, 1893, Pl. 1, Figs a and b, and Fig. 16.

⁴² 1927, 178, 359; Contenau calls them all idols. See Mackay, *The ‘A’ Cemetery at Kish*, 21–3.

gesture of *mano cornuta* is still used as a protection against the Evil Eye.⁴³ Their origin as a prophylactic is uncertain and may have been multiple; we cannot investigate it now, but would merely suggest that the use of the horns as a prophylactic may perhaps have arisen from the blending or confusion of two distinct things—the horns of the bull-god and the uplifted arms of a worshipper.

A very good example on a Late Bronze Age pot-handle was found by Brea on the citadel of Lipari (Pl. 9), on the floor of a hut destroyed by fire; it is assigned by him to the First Ausonian Period (1250–1000 B.C.) so that it would be roughly contemporary with the ones from Cozzo del Pantano just described. It belongs to the type of *ansa lunata*, so common in the south of Italy, where it is typical of the Late Bronze Age; many such from Scoglio del Tonno (the so-called ‘terramara’ village) may be seen in the Taranto Museum. On the Lipari example the round bosses are for eyes (not breasts), as the nasal protuberance between proves.

It is tempting to follow the Faces through their later transformations in Southern Italy and Sicily where they acquired so strong a hold. One or two examples only can be given here. In the Syracuse Museum is a small bronze plate (Pl. 12 a) from a hoard of objects found at Mendolito which also contained socketed spearheads, tanged razors, and fibulae of proto-Greek type, indicating that the hoard does not antedate the first Greek colonization, and a date at the end of the 8th century or beginning of the 7th is probable. It is difficult to explain the function of the bronze plate; many of the other bronze fragments are parts of military equipment. The face is startlingly vital and expressive, and well calculated to strike terror into the heart of an adversary who believed in the magic power of such talismans.⁴⁴

Returning to Southern Italy we find the Faces again in the handles of bowls of the kind called Daunian, very like those of Cozzo del Pantano in shape, with the same flat upright handles, but not carinated. They are late in date; none, according to Dunbabin,⁴⁵ are likely to be before the 6th century B.C., and the influence of Greek potters is obvious, even though some of the features derive from the native tradition. The horns here are quite plainly meant for uplifted arms, as on some examples they have between them a pair of eyes set on a neck (Pl. 15). The ‘body’ is ornamented with painted geometric patterns. Two round bosses represent breasts and are placed absurdly low down, in one instance having a hole for the navel set between them. On another the navel is indicated by a boss with short star-like rays painted round its edge. The wheel-like pair of eyes (top, left, on Pl. 15) are exactly like those on a much older (Early Bronze Age) pot from Vounous in Cyprus, illustrated in *Antiquity*, XI, 1937, Pl. xi, pp. 352–3.

Elworthy⁴⁶ illustrates lamps of the classical period with horn-like attachments to the handles; one such has on it in Greek the name of ARTEMIS EPHESIŌN, who was a

⁴³ Elworthy, 1895, 260–1.

⁴⁴ The Mendolito hoard is unpublished and I am indebted to Professor Bernabo Brea for some of the facts cited above.

⁴⁵ In *Ant.*, XXVIII, 1954, 189–90, reviewing F. P. Johnson, 1953. For even later survivals, in the form of eyes, see Gisela M. A. Richter in *Corpus*

Vasorum Antiquorum, New York II (U.S.A. XI), 1953, 14. (I have to thank Mr John Boardman for this reference.)

⁴⁶ 1895, 212–13, Figs 85 and 86. Neither date nor locality is given. Fig. 85 is taken from a rare book, printed in Rome in 1657, entitled *Symbolica Dianae Ephesiae Statua*, a Claudio Menetrio.

goddess of fertility, as is shown by the epithet *multimammia* (recorded by St Jerome) and by statuettes which leave us in no doubt whatever about its meaning.

In the Alberobello region of Apulia the farms and cottages are built with corbelled roofs, and on them is often painted a huge white sign (Pl. 12 b). Its form differs considerably, but most of the forms embody a cross in one way or another.⁴⁷ The one here illustrated is on the south side of the road between Alberobello and Nole. Signorina Bracco who showed it to me, and who knows that region far better than I do, regards these signs as anthropomorphic and lineally connected with those on the pots, and I agree. Note on this example the two spots which may stand for eyes or breasts. There does not appear to be any literature on the subject, which is well worthy of study. There must surely be a traditional account of their meaning and purpose. Here is a splendid opportunity for field work, requiring only a knowledge of Italian (working both ways), a camera, and some tact.

It is not possible to discuss developments of the cult in Sicily during historic times, but I cannot conclude this chapter without a brief mention of the cult of Demeter-Ceres at Enna. Demeter was the corn-goddess, but she was also associated with the underworld of the dead; and it was just that part of her cult which was observed at Enna. This is a nice confirmation of my thesis that at Castelluccio we find the eye-goddess associated with tombs, for (if I am right) she started as an agricultural fertility goddess. But, as the Ras Shamra texts show, she was also mixed up with death and resurrection. It has been suggested⁴⁸ that the burial aspect of her cult had reference not to the sowing of seed in the ground but to its storage in autumn underground in jars and silos, and these do occur in neolithic settlements of Southern Italy, as we have seen.⁴⁹ Both the grain and the dead bodies were buried in artificially excavated pits whose resemblance is obvious; and at a later date (in Lipari) the dead were actually interred in huge jars just like those used for storage. But the Ras Shamra texts seem to point rather to the burial being that of seed in the ground for next year's crop. The date of the ceremonies would give a clue.

Maltese prehistory⁵⁰ begins with a colonization of the island during the last centuries of the 3rd millennium by people whose pottery had affinities with that of Stentinello in Sicily, whence they probably came. Then follows an unbroken development, without evidence of disturbance from outside by invasion, for about a millennium; there is however strong evidence of external influence affecting the island culture towards the end of this period, which was ended abruptly by the arrival of newcomers. These people cremated their dead.

The habit of drawing human figures in conventionalized form on the pots seems to have begun about or soon after 2000 B.C., Evans's Period I a 2, though we must remember that no whole pots and not many fragments of the preceding period are available.

⁴⁷ Some of the signs are not unlike that on an Italian Iron Age helmet illustrated in *Ant*, II, 1928, opp. p. 133, from MacIver, which seems to be an apotropaic face. For Trulli see Battaglia, 1952.

⁴⁸ By H. J. Rose, 1953, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 263 (Demeter).

⁴⁹ pp. 37-8 above.

⁵⁰ The account which follows is based entirely on Professor John Evans's work, published in *PPS* for 1953, 41-94. Quotations are from that article. Professor Evans must not be held responsible for an occasional speculation of my own about origins.



1. An offering to Inanna: c. 3000 B.C.



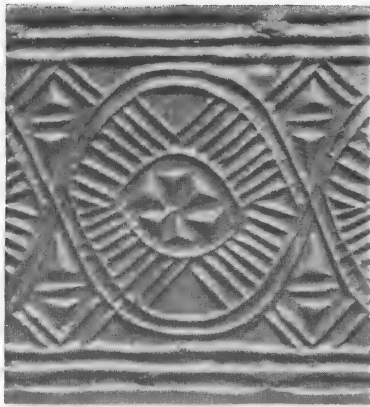
2. The Jokha bull-man (in centre) restored from fragmentary statues (on each side): 3rd millennium?



3a. The Hittite weather-god from Zinjirli: 2nd millennium



3b. Baal from Ras Shamra: 2nd millennium



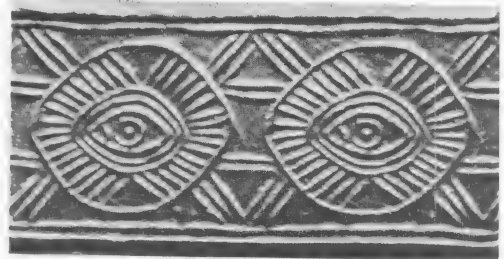
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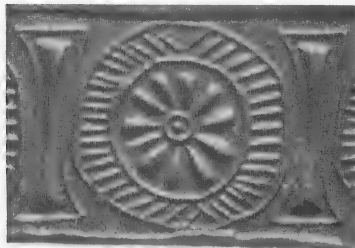
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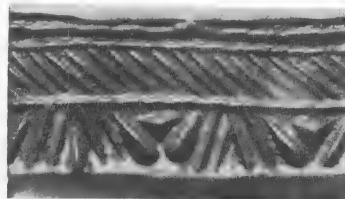
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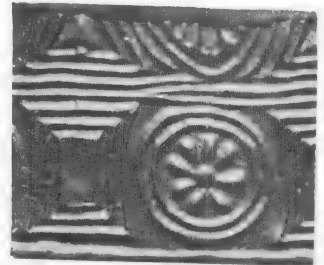
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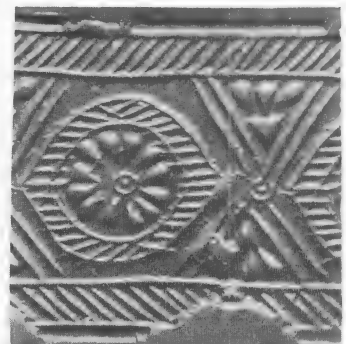
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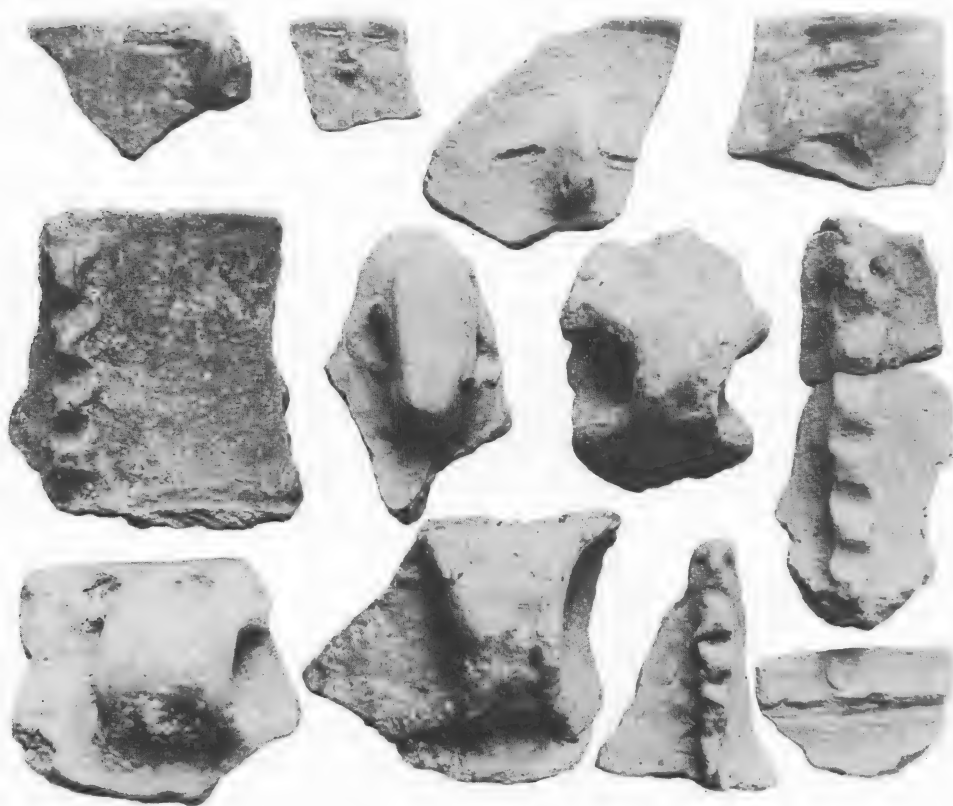


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4. Eyes on Sumerian seal-impressions of the 3rd millennium



5a. Heart-shaped face on stone from Troy I: 3rd millennium



5b. Trapeza face-sherds, Crete



6a. Rim-fragment of large storage-jar from Murgia Timone near Matera, Southern Italy



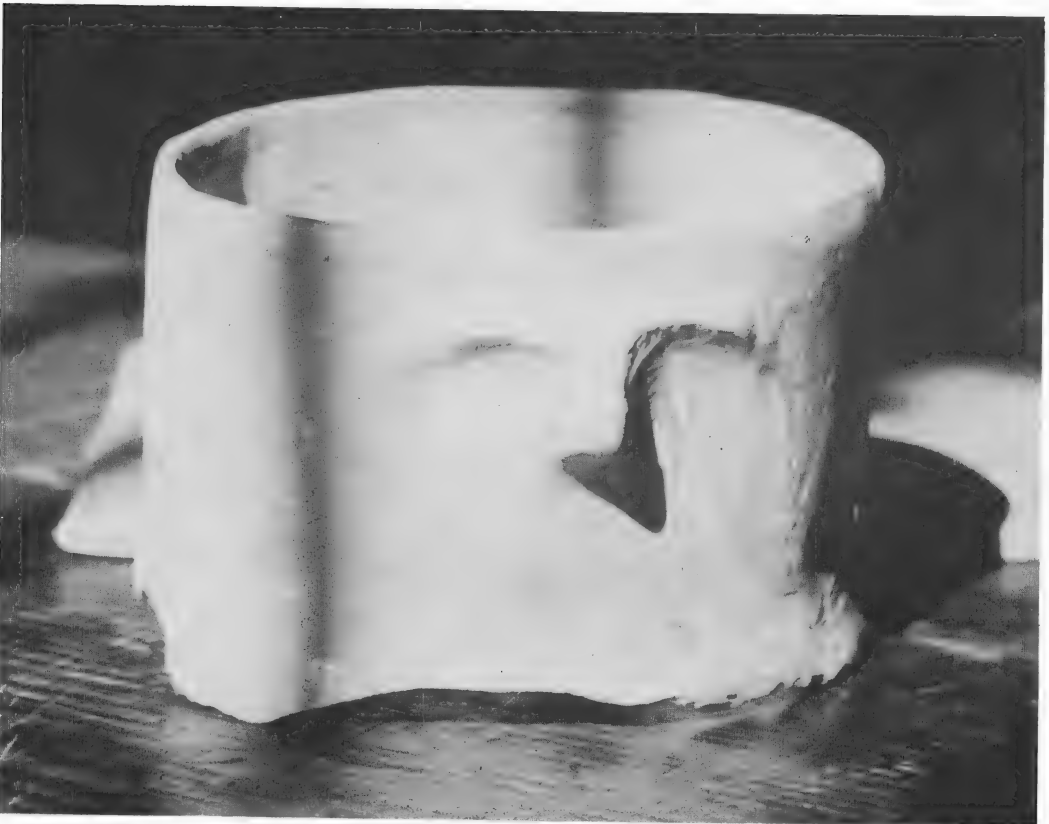
6b. Murgia Timone: ditch in rock round village, and later cross-wall



7. Air-photograph of Passo di Corvo, an entrenched neolithic village
7 miles north-east of Foggia



8a. Neolithic face-sherd from Trefontane near Mount Etna



8b. Owl-face on pot from Scaloria, Gargano



9. Pot-handle (ansa lunata) from Lipari, Capanna Ia: 1250-1000 B.C.



10a. Castelluccio: tomb-slabs with head, breasts, and uplifted arms



10b. Castelluccio: tomb-slab with spirals



11a. Pot-handle with breasts, Cozzo del Pantano: c. 1450–1250 B.C.



11b. Pot-handle with eyes, Cozzo del Pantano: c. 1450–1250 B.C.



12a. Bronze plate from Mendolito, Sicily: c. 800 B.C.?



12b. Trulli with whitewashed sign near Alberobello, Apulia



13. Limestone figurine from Hagar Kim, Malta; height 20 inches



14. Eye-sherds in Syracuse Museum



15. Daunian pots in the Farwell Collection: 6th century B.C.



16. The Minet el Beida goddess: 14th century B.C.

It is to this period that belongs a fragment of a statue-menhir found in a tomb at Zebbug.⁵¹ It consists of a flat piece of limestone on which is carved a nose and two holes for eyes, and another hole (with a vertical groove from it to the chin) for the mouth. This is regarded as confirmatory evidence of western affinities; but the carving differs from most of the western examples 'in that the face is in slight relief instead of being cut back into the stone', and from all of them in the way the mouth is shown, which is that adopted on the clay plank-idols of Cyprus.

The evidence for the cult of a female deity in Malta comes, not from pot-representations, but from the existence of statuettes of fat women,⁵² found in the temple at Hagiar Kim (Pl. 13) and elsewhere, and from figurines, some of which seem 'to indicate a strong Cycladic influence'. There are other indications, given by Evans, of direct contact with the Cyclades. The period is marked by a high development of sculpture; there are carvings of pigs, goats, fish, and a snake.⁵³ The famous spirals carved on slabs at Hal Tarxien have often been compared with those (much smaller) on the tombstones of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. The comparison is pertinent and there may well be a connection, but a closer parallel is to be found in the Castelluccio slabs, which are also of about the same date, that is, mid-2nd millennium. The megalithic temples themselves must surely owe something to outside influences, if only their elaboration and decoration, for they evolved out of a simple native trefoil plan of much earlier date. For my present thesis they are important as proving yet once more, as before at Castelluccio, that there was an intimate connection between a fertility cult and that of the dead.

The bossed bone plaque already mentioned was found in the deposit covering the temple at Hal Tarxien, but its exact position is doubtful and it is uncertain whether it should be assigned to Period I c or to II; Evans thinks that 'it seems most probable that it belongs to the earlier period'. If so, it is another link with the corresponding (Castelluccio) culture in Sicily.

Period I c is that to which the megalithic temples in their present form belong; it was then that Maltese prehistoric culture reached its prime. Evans regards this period as probably partly contemporary with the later part of the Anghelu Ruju phase in Sardinia and with the earlier part of Chalcolithic III in France. He concludes (p. 84): 'Contrary to what has been thought, it is a phase of wide contacts, which embrace in all probability the East as well as the Western Mediterranean. These however remained mere contacts; they affected only the surface of a stable and mature culture without modifying it in any essential way, which is doubtless the reason why they have always remained so elusive and hard to pin down.'

The invaders of Period II, though practising cremation, had the same ideas about the importance of putting faces on pots as the earlier ones had, at any rate in neighbouring lands. Seeing a resemblance to a nose in what was presumably a utilitarian lug, they put a couple of dimples beside it to increase the resemblance; but they also put them beside protuberances that were non-utilitarian. They made clay idols representing seated female figures. 'One of these is almost complete and has an elaborate crescentic head-dress.' Again the analogies are with the East. Surely these invaders must be

⁵¹ Illustrated in *Ant.*, IV, 1930, Plates between pp. 72 and 73.

⁵² For which see T. Zammit and C. Singer, 1924.

⁵³ Evans, 1954, Pl. IX, 3.

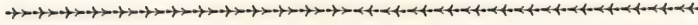
related to the people of Troy VI who also cremated their dead and whose urn-field was found and excavated by Blegen? There would be no chronological difficulty; Troy VI is regarded as coming to an end at about 1275 B.C. after several centuries of existence, and this must cover the period of the Tarxien cemetery according to Evans's system.

Ugolini illustrates fragments of two pots with faces in relief from the Tarxien cemetery.⁵⁴ One shows a brow-ridge over two round eyes, and the other an 'eye-lug', nose, and oval eye, with the spread of the rim acting as brow-ridge.

⁵⁴ 1934, 254, Fig. 103.

CHAPTER IV

ON TO IBERIA



IN THE LAST chapter I outlined a theory of the spread of an oriental fertility-cult associated with a Face-goddess; starting in the Fertile Crescent it was carried across, or more probably by sea around, Anatolia to Troy and Thessaly. Thence it is supposed to have gone northwards into Europe and westwards to Italy, Sicily, and Malta. The movements may have taken the form of successive waves of migrants, and they began during the 3rd millennium. But there may well have been other, earlier waves; one such is thought by Brea¹ to have been the agent of distribution of the impressed ware round the shores of the Mediterranean, and even before that there may have been movements westward, such as the one which carried food-producers to Cyprus in pre-pottery neolithic times.

The cult was regarded as representing an enlargement of the functions of an older female deity to conform with the growing needs of her new agricultural communities; as such it would readily be adopted in lands where the 'unreformed' cult of the same deity had for long been practised. Such adaptations are quite common throughout religious history. Exact dating of the various stages was seen to be difficult, but there seemed to be progressively lower dates as one went westward.

We must now go to the other end of the Mediterranean and beyond it out into the open ocean. The Iberian evidence is abundant and has been collected and made accessible by Obermaier, Breuil, and above all by the Leisners. Representations of a Face are frequently encountered on stone and bone plaques and cylinders, on pots and rocks. But the evidence, though abundant, is difficult to handle because most of it comes from tombs whose date is often very uncertain, estimates differing by many centuries. The classic inhabited sites of Los Millares and El Argar and their tombs were excavated in the bad old way, without any regard for stratification; nor indeed has any Iberian site of these or subsequent periods yet been excavated and published with that meticulous care and attention to stratification which alone can unravel the tangled culture-sequences, as Brea has shown at Lipari.

The Faces are commonest in the southern part of the Peninsula, in Almeria and Southern Portugal (Fig. 15). Recent finds prove that the cult was practised also in the adjacent province of Valencia.² There are certain differences, however; in the Spanish areas the eyes are engraved or painted on bones, often the phalanges of sheep and goats, whereas in Portugal they are engraved on plaques made of slaty stone (Fig. 16). Associated finds prove that the cults in each region were contemporary. Besides these

¹ 1950 (b).

² Tormo, 1945.



FIG. 15. Map of Southern Iberia, based upon those of Dr Leisner, 1943.

southern groups there are sporadic finds of steles with carvings of the human figure in northern Portugal and north-west Spain. Some of these—Pena Tu, for instance (Fig. 22 b)—belong to the full Bronze Age of that region; but until Dr Leisner's survey is published, any attempt at precise relative dating would be premature. Presumably the cult infiltrated there from the south.

The Valencian finds come from two sites. In the Shepherd's Cave in the mountains of Mas de la Pastora, excavations (cut short by official interference and still unpublished in 1946) revealed painted bones in what is described as an 'advanced eneolithic' culture; the cave was used for collective burial, but was of natural origin. About forty skulls, some trepanned, were found, and the total number of individuals buried was estimated at about seventy. The designs were preserved through the corrosion of the bone by the paint. They consist of pairs of round or rectangular eyes with a round disc in the centre for the pupil and rows of short strokes above and below for eyelashes and eyebrows. Above and below are broad bands following the outlines of the eyes. In at least one example there is a second pair of eyes below the first. At the lower end is a single zigzag line or several parallel ones; on several of the bones a pubic triangle (i.e. one with the base at the top) is painted at the lower end. On the one here illustrated (Fig. 17) the triangle is drawn with the apex at the top, suggesting that its meaning had been forgotten; on all the rest it has the normal and correct position with the base at the top. This feature proves that the designs represent someone of the female sex.

From a stratified habitation-site called Ereta del Pedregal occupying the bed of a dried-up lake at Navarres near Bolbaite come only two finds. One is a split antler-tine with two pairs of eyes carved (not painted) on it, and duplicated parallel grooves above



FIG. 16. Plaques from Iberia and Cyprus, and figurine from Crete: a. Idanha-a-Nova, Portugal; b. Aviz, Spain; c. Anta I da Farisoa, Portugal; d and e. Anta Grande do Olival da Pega, Portugal; f. Anta I do Passo; g. Cyprus; h. Pankalochori, Crete.

the upper and below the lower pair. The eyelashes are shown in the usual way, and between the pairs is a lozenge pattern. The lower (thicker) part of the tine is covered with rows of small inverted triangles, separated by horizontal lines. The design as a whole closely resembles those on the Almizaraque bones and on the Sicilian bossed plaques, as Professor John Evans has pointed out.³ From the same site in Valencia comes a painted bone like those from the Shepherd's Cave.

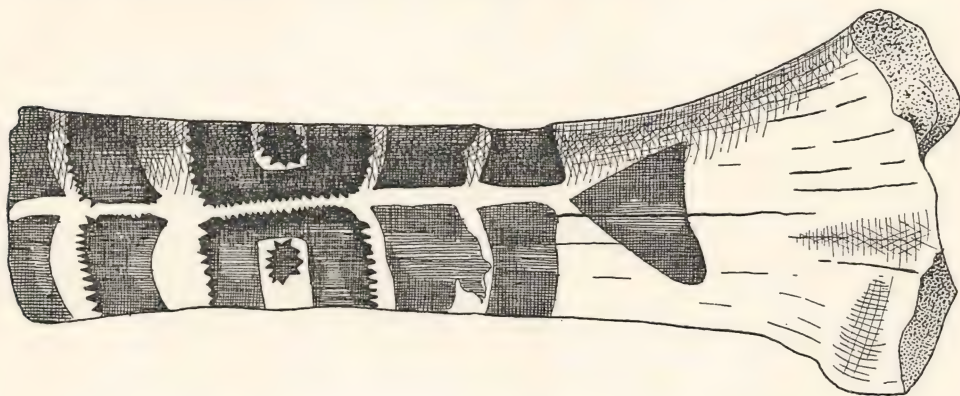


FIG. 17. Bone from the Shepherd's Cave, Valencia, after Ballester Tormo.

The Portuguese plaques (Fig. 16) are made of a flat slaty stone on which the designs have been scratched; they are essentially the same designs as the rest except that none of them has the pubic triangle. As will, I hope, become clear later (pp. 56 ff.), there is enough resemblance between the examples found in each of the three principal Iberian regions to justify us in inferring a common cult. Their resemblance to the Sicilian plaques implies some cultural connection with the Aegeo-Sicilian region. A poor but undoubted specimen of these stone plaques has been found in Ireland. We can therefore claim that these links form an unbroken chain connecting Ireland with Anatolia during the 2nd millennium. There is little difficulty in identifying the Eye Goddess during her Mediterranean travels; from Brak to Almizaraque she even retained her multiple eyebrows. But as she went northwards into barbarous regions the identification becomes increasingly difficult; and when we reach Ireland (in Chapter VIII) we shall find that she has gone all to pieces. Even in Brittany many will hesitate to recognize her. The component elements—face, fringes, necklace, etc.—became detached from each other, and often we are confronted with an apparently meaningless pattern or jumble. The task of unravelling is yet further complicated by the fact that the cult may have been contaminated by Aegean and other influences during its transmission.

A similar contamination had probably already affected the Carthaginian cult of Baal Ammon in Algeria at a much later date (2nd century B.C.), possibly through the influence of a common type of Aegean cult-image and certainly in the addition of the caduceus, from the Greek cult of Hermes.⁴ In passing it may be remarked that this Baal Ammon of Northern Africa is directly descended from Baal of Ras Shamra (Ugarit), and that

³ 1956, 93.

⁴ A. Berthier and R. Charlier, 1955, 183-5.

his consort Tanit (whose sign he has annexed at El Hofra) is descended from the Phoenician Asherat (Astarte), the Ugaritic Anat and the Sumerian Ishtar. In Syria and Carthagina Tanit was called the Face of Baal (Phene-Baal), a possible allusion, I suggest, to the Eye symbols.

Professor Childe⁵ mentions certain possible similarities between the cultures of Los Millares in Almeria and those of the Aegean, Crete, Anatolia, and the East Mediterranean, adding that 'imports (into Spain) of hippopotamus ivory and ostrich eggs prove maritime contact at least with the African coasts'. He concludes that 'the implantation of the Oriental ideas reflected at Los Millares manifestly involves colonization, though the colonists cannot be traced to any known East Mediterranean centre, but came presumably from some secondary metropolis in North Africa as did the Carthaginians in the first millennium. Their objectives would have been metal and probably also magic substances.' If that were so, the worship of Baal in North Africa may well have existed there in some form before it was re-introduced by the founders of Carthage. So far there is no evidence of any such 'secondary metropolis' there; but that may only be due to the lack of 'recherches adéquates'; it is, as I said, difficult to believe that this fertile region was wholly unaffected by the higher cultures in neighbouring lands. However this may be, I should favour a prolongation of the trans-Helladic route from Sicily at least to North Africa to supplement an all-sea voyage from Syria to Spain, or an all-sea route thither from Sicily.

There is another possibility which does not exclude the one just stated and tells rather in favour of the all-sea route. As evidence of intercourse between Sicily and Spain Brea⁶ cites beakers (caliciforms), painted pottery and rock-hewn tombs; and he concludes that Sicily played an essential part as intermediary between the East and West Mediterranean lands just as it did later in the Greek period. The spread of Sicilian influence westwards seems to have begun before the Castelluccio period; resemblances are with the Serraferlichio culture. But we need not suppose that, once begun, it was discontinued. Rock-hewn tombs are an East Mediterranean feature, and were made in Palestine at least as early as the end of the 4th millennium. In the western Mediterranean they also belong to the Early Metal Age which began of course much later there. It may not have been without cause that Thucydides called the Sicani an Iberian tribe (VI, 2).

Before we come to examine and analyse the western rock-carvings and cult-objects a few words must be said about their character.⁷ Cult-idols are images made of clay or stone or carved on stone to represent the deity and be worshipped. When in the round they usually stood on a platform or pedestal in the shrine; they could be of all sizes and styles. Alternatively the image may stand for the worshipper or votary or for his offerings (e.g. animals); these are called votive idols or offerings. When they are in the form of grave-goods they are usually regarded as a special kind of votive offering intended to serve the dead in another world. Votive idols are often made with arms

⁵ 1950 (b), 273.

⁶ 1954, 178-80. See also Childe, 1950 (b), 219.

⁷ As will be apparent the rest of this paragraph owes much to Professor Nilsson's classic work on *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (2nd revised ed.,

Lund, 1950). His astringent treatment is a fine corrective of the loose thinking that this subject seems to provoke. I hope I have not unintentionally misrepresented his views.

uplifted in adoration; but as cult-idols are also so made it is often difficult or impossible to know whether they were meant to represent the deity or the adorer. A further complication is introduced by figurines which, though deposited as votive offerings, are themselves representations of cult-idols standing on a pedestal, platform, or pole. Some of these idols of idols, so to speak, were amongst those at Brak; and in Iberia Breuil regards some of the rock-paintings as of idols in shrines, or as steles and 'dolmen-idols'. On the late Punic steles of El Hofra are representations of the cult-idol of Baal standing on a pedestal.⁸

In Iberia the Faces are engraved on stone plaques and on bones and pots, nearly all of which are found in tombs. That these are cult-objects is generally agreed, and that they represent a deity is made virtually certain by the fact that occasionally the image is engraved on the walls of the tomb. At Granja de Toninuelo in Spain (Fig. 19 g) a pair of round eyes with long lashes and some wavy lines is engraved on one of the stones of a passage leading to a tholos.⁹ At Pena Tu, as we shall see, there is another similarly placed and more complete (Fig. 22 b). In France there is the famous deity of the Grotte de Coizard (Marne).¹⁰ The Castelluccio bossed bone plaques can only be representations of a deity. I think we shall be able to go beyond this and say that sometimes the deity was treated as clothed, not naked, and had certain features which regularly recur and may have had a ritual significance, such as the necklace and skirt-pattern. In my attempt to demonstrate this, I shall sometimes have to disregard one of Nilsson's principles and argue backwards in time and from one culture area to another. As a rule this citation of later examples to explain earlier ones is illegitimate and reprehensible, and I am fully aware that it is always open to criticism. I would plead in defence that religious conservatism and the wanderings of the cult may here justify the method. If, as I think, the western cults were derived ultimately from the east, and perhaps revived by occasional long-range contacts, it is obviously desirable to examine some of the cult-objects in that region first.

Let us begin with a typical example, though a late one, of a fully integrated goddess from Minet el Beida, the port of Ugarit (Ras Shamra); it is dated by the excavator, Professor Claude Schaeffer, to the 14th century B.C. and is now in the Louvre¹¹ (Pl. 16 and Fig. 18 a). The goddess is seated between two goats and holds in her upraised hands the stalks of corn or branches which the goats are nibbling. On her head is a diadem; below it, a row of ringlets and wavy tresses hang down beside the ear. The hair above the diadem is indicated by wavy lines. She wears a necklace and is naked to the waist, round which is a belt; her skirt is arranged in flounces each ornamented with vertical lines, the three uppermost being separated from the three below by a row of zigzag lines. The flounced skirt or kilt is a Mesopotamian fashion, worn by kings and others during the middle of the 3rd millennium and perhaps before, the upper part of the body being naked. Gods and goddesses continued to wear a flounced robe (but over the whole body) down to the end of the 3rd millennium at least, the flounces being shown

⁸ Berthier and Charlier, 1955, Pls XIII C; XXI C, D; XXII A, B. Compare the one from Brak which is three millennia older, *Iraq*, IX (1), Pl. XXVI, 1.

⁹ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 140, 1 (not mentioned in text).

¹⁰ *Ant.*, IX, 1935, opp. p. 120. Good drawing in Kendrick, 1925, Fig. 14, p. 61.

¹¹ It has often been reproduced, the latest being in Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 464, with full bibliography.

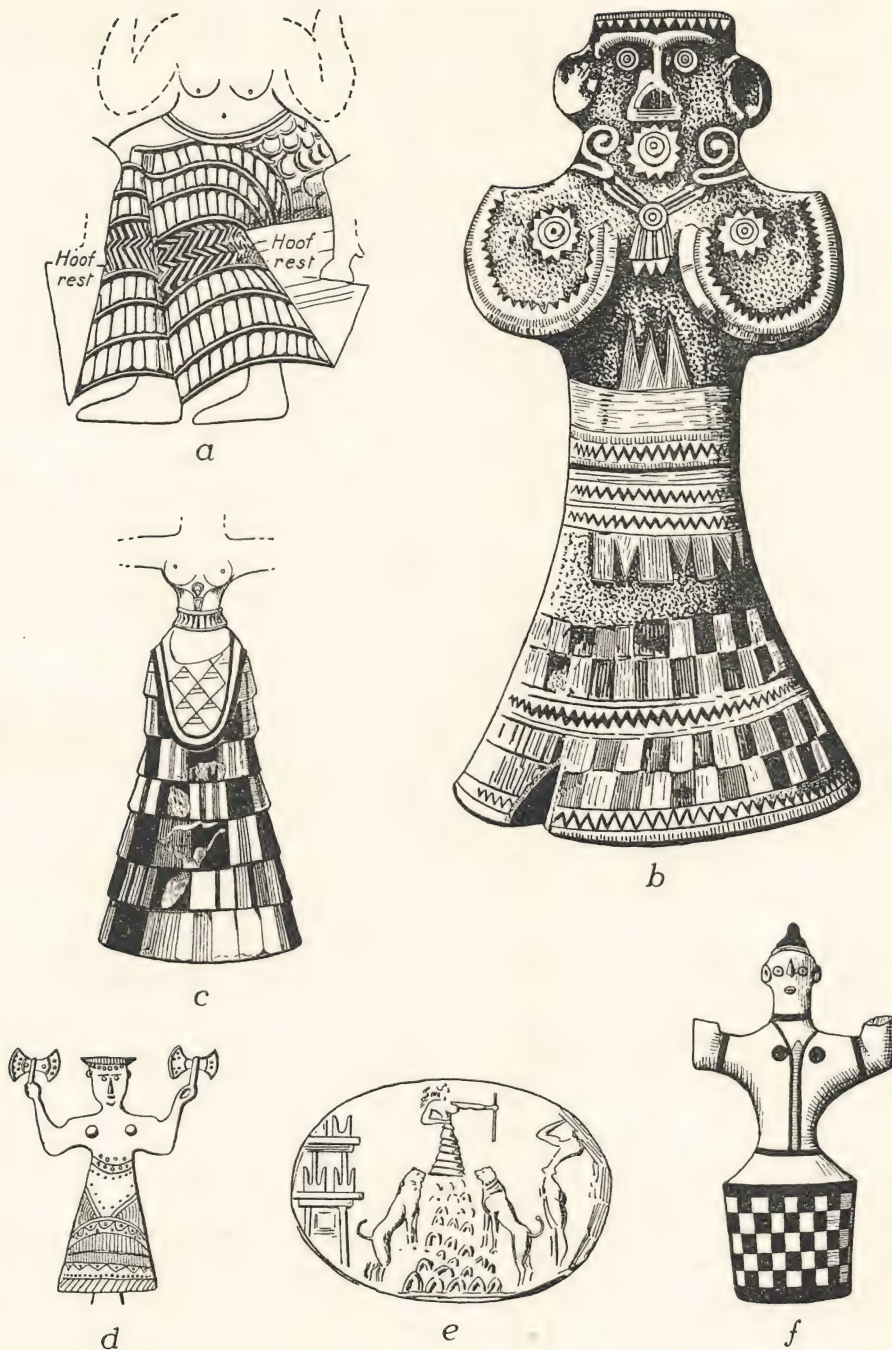


FIG. 18. Clothed figures from Syria, Crete, and the Balkans: a. Minet el Beida, Syria; b. Kličevac, Yugoslavia; c. Cnossos, Crete; d. Palaikastro, Crete; e. Cnossos, Crete; f. Pankalochori, Crete.

with short vertical lines on them.¹² Mesopotamia, then, is the home of the flounced robe; but it is also common in Minoan Crete, where it was worn by the famous Snake Goddesses (Fig. 18 c), and by the so-called Mother of the Mountains on seal-impressions from Cnossos (Fig. 18 e), and by a presumed goddess on another from Hagia Triada.¹³ It was also worn by votaries¹⁴ and by a Mycenaean woman of doubtful character.¹⁵ One of the 'snake-goddesses' has flounces ornamented with solid rectangles alternating with others having vertical lines, the whole forming a chequer pattern; on the other are vertical lines only. Both have aprons ornamented with a diagonal pattern, one having alternate hatched and plain triangles.

The same flounced style is worn by figurines. The 'priestess or goddess' on a mould from Palaikastro (Fig. 18 d) has a skirt with flounces and vertical zigzag lines; she is bare above the waist, and in each of her upraised hands she holds a double axe. The idol from Pankalochori ('probably Subminoan') is represented as wearing a chequer-patterned skirt below her waist (Fig. 18 f).

The diagonal pattern on the aprons of the 'snake-goddesses' also appears on a seated goddess from Ras Shamra,¹⁶ and several centuries later on a figurine of a Bceotian nature-goddess in the Louvre.¹⁷

Nilsson¹⁸ describes another form of dress, worn at sacred rites, which was 'certainly not one for every day life but . . . reserved for deities and officiants of the cult'. It covers the whole body and has a broad band down either the side or front. An oriental or Syro-Anatolian prototype has been suggested, and there is much evidence in support of the suggestion. The Ras Shamra goddess just mentioned has a skirt divided medially in front by a band with oblique lines across it, starting from a belt. Votaries of Ishtar have a similar band similarly ornamented.¹⁹ A figure with plumed head-dress from Tello has the same,²⁰ and so have the worshippers on an old Babylonian seal.²¹ The fashion survived as late as Etruscan times; a plaque in the Louvre from Cervetri shows a man seated on a sort of camp-stool (an Anatolian type) in front of the image of a goddess with upraised arms; she is wearing rather a short skirt with a band down the middle of the front.²²

I do not think that this ceremonial garb was in one piece in every case. One at least of the figures on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and on a wall-painting there²³ seems to wear a sort of bodice which is not joined to the skirt and is exactly like the bodice of the Mycenaean woman at Tiryns, which is certainly *not* joined to the skirt. In that case the resemblance to some oriental examples where the vertical band is on the skirt only becomes even closer.

It will be convenient at this stage to recapitulate briefly. The importance of the Eyes

¹² For other examples see Frankfort, 1954, Pl. 58 (Nintu, goddess of births); Pl. 62 (goddess holding water-pot, from Mari); Pritchard, 1954, Figs 525, 526 (Ishtar).

¹³ Nilsson, 1954, Fig. 63.

¹⁴ Nilsson, 1954, Figs 134, 135, 156.

¹⁵ Kühn, 1955, Pl. 49 (Tiryns).

¹⁶ Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 480.

¹⁷ Kühn, 1955, Pl. 81.

¹⁸ pp. 158-60.

¹⁹ Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 525 ('about 2360-2180 B.C.').

²⁰ Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 598 ('3000-2500 B.C.').

²¹ Frankfort, 1955, No. 987 ('c. 1830-1530 B.C.').

²² Pallottino, 1955, Pl. 20.

²³ Nilsson, 1955, Figs 196, 198. For what seems to be a similar corslet of leather from Egypt see Singer, 1956, II, Pl. 5 a (c. 1500 B.C.).

of Ishtar was inferred from seals and idols of the Jemdet Nasr period (about 3000 B.C.). Representations show the eye itself, the eyelashes and eyebrows, sometimes multiplied. A goddess typical of her kind was seen to have side-tresses, a fringe below the diadem and the head-hair above it. She wears a necklace²⁴ and a flounced skirt of a kind that was fashionable in Sumer; and later in Crete also the skirt-flounces have a chequer-pattern or rows of vertical lines. Another kind of garment has a vertical band down the middle or side. Both of these garments had a ritual function and were worn by deities and their votaries. Some examples were given; many more could be added.

All these features can be found in a conventionalized form on one or other of the innumerable types of figurines of the East Mediterranean, Crete, the Aegean, Greece, and the Balkans, and even of the lands beyond. A well-known example from Kličevac in Yugoslavia (Fig. 18 b) has a row of inverted triangles, representing the fringe or diadem, above strongly marked brow-ridges and round eyes, prominent ears, a necklace, a bare torso and below it a skirt whose flounces are ornamented with a chequer-pattern just like that on the skirt of the Cnossos 'snake-goddess' and with rows of zigzags at the top, middle, and bottom of the skirt, recalling the arrangement on the Minet el Beida figurine. On some of the more stylized figurines there may be few signs of garments, but even the dour fiddle-idols of the Cyclades have the necklace, so important was it held to be.

The Sicilian bossed bone plaques (Fig. 13) are clearly cult-objects and equivalent perhaps to figurines, at any rate when treated as evidence of a cult. Alternate bosses have round eyes with eyelashes and (apparently) a nose; the plain bosses presumably stood for the rest of the body. The duplication of the faces—six on one plaque—may be compared with that of the Brak idols; but as there are more than three a trinity is ruled out, and some other explanation must be found; perhaps repetition magnified the magic. The decorated border might represent the pattern on the garment, but on one plaque the pattern on one side consists of yet more eyes. The plaques are slightly wider at the top, and one of them²⁵ has a distinct indication of shoulders.

In Iberia the image of the goddess disintegrates still further. The representations are on bones and stones, pots and plaques and (though less often) on the walls of tombs. On one stone plaque (Fig. 16 a) the legs are shown—or are they its arms?—but on the others the lower part of the 'body' is covered with geometric patterns. Examining them from the top downwards we may recognize perhaps an echo of the fringe (Fig. 19, b, c, d) and also of the diadem and of a cap or crown on some of the bones. A silver diadem was actually found on the head of a Bronze Age skeleton at El Argar,²⁶ and the roughly contemporary Minet el Beida goddess (Pl. 16) has a diadem with a central volute in front where the Spanish one has an oval protuberance. On a face-pot of about 1500 B.C. found near an altar at Brak a diadem is represented by a band of triangles (Fig. 20 b). This may be stylistically compared with the triangles at the top of a bone plaque from Almizaraque in Almería, one of many.²⁷ On the Iberian bones and plaques the eyes are shown with lashes and brows, sometimes multiplied (Fig. 19, a to e), as a

²⁴ On the ritual importance of the necklace see Mallowan, *Iraq*, IX, 159.

²⁵ Evans, 1956, 83, Fig. 4.

²⁶ Childe, 1950 (b), Fig. 130.

²⁷ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 92, 9.

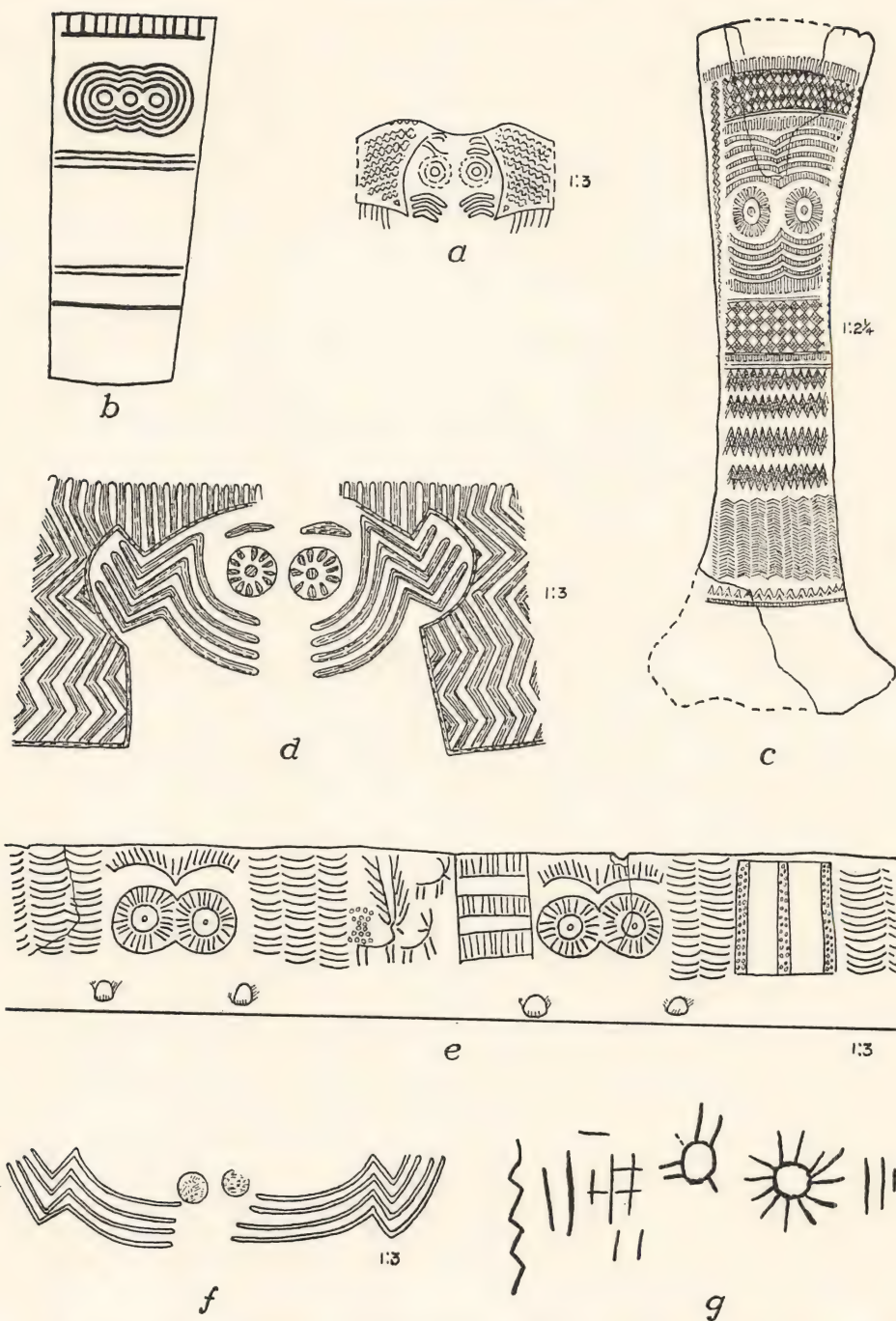


FIG. 19. Eyes on Spanish pots, bones, and stones: a. Los Castellones; b. Almizaraque; c. Almizaraque; d. Provenance unrecorded; e. Los Millares; f. Los Millares; g. Granja de Toninuelo.

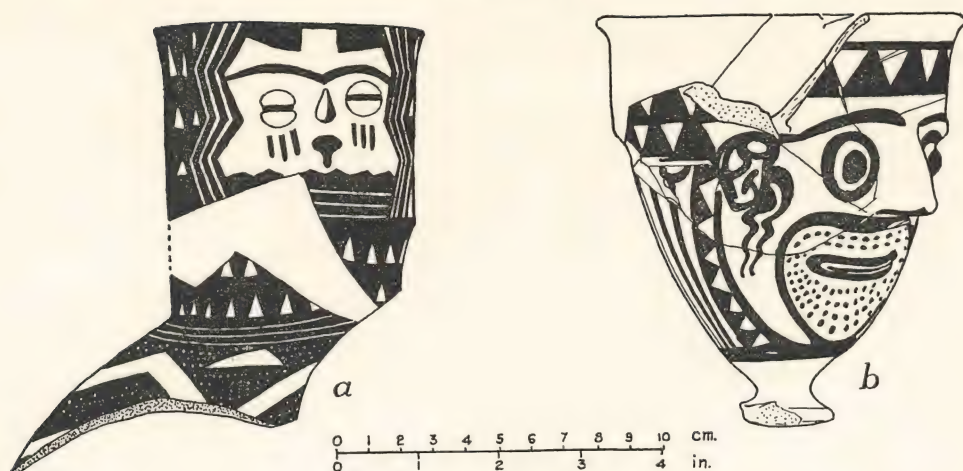


FIG. 20. Face-pots: a. Tell Hassuna; b. Brak.

pair of holes (Fig. 16, a, b, d), as a single hole (Fig. 16 e) or not at all (Fig. 16 f). Occasionally the shoulders are indicated (Fig. 16, a, b, f); most commonly the plaques are trapezoids, slightly narrower at the top. The head-hair is shown by wavy lines (Fig. 19 a) below which are, on the same object, short vertical lines, perhaps a remnant of the tresses. These last are easily recognizable in the zigzags (Fig. 19 d) which are exactly comparable in position with those framing the face on a pot from Tell Hassuna (Fig. 20 a).²⁸ Below the eyes of the Spanish examples are curved lines ending in a V which may stand for the ears. This interpretation is supported stylistically by the Brak vase on which the eyebrows reach the ears and from the latter fall the tresses (Fig. 20 b). The necklace is indicated by V-shaped lines (Fig. 16, a, b, e). A horizontal band below may stand for the belt; compare the Portuguese examples (Fig. 16, c and e) with one from Cyprus (Fig. 16 g). Other Cypriote figurines in the Ashmolean Museum²⁹ have both necklace and arms above bands of crossed lines and triangles respectively; they date to about 2000 B.C. or a little earlier. The rest of the surface, below the belt, is covered with geometric designs usually arranged in horizontal bands representing the flounces of the oriental figures. Components of the pattern are hatched triangles, lozenges, rectangles, and zigzags. The pattern of rectangles (Fig. 16 e), a common design, should be compared with that on the lower part or skirt of the Pankalochori idol (Figs. 16 h, 18 f) and of the 'snake-goddess' (Fig. 18 c), which though later may be an ancient pattern retained in ritual use by religious conservatism. The eye-pattern came sometimes to be shown merely by a pair of knobs or dots with parallel lines ending in an ear-V (Fig. 19 f). An example from a megalithic burial chamber at Toninuolo (Fig. 19 g) shows two eyes with rather blurred eyelashes and a wavy line on one side for the tresses.

²⁸ Sumer, 1945, I (2), Pl. 6. The eyes are shown by a convention, suggesting cowrie-shells. In the pre-pottery neolithic culture of Jericho these shells were inserted in the eye-sockets of the plastered skulls. The face on this Hassuna pot seems, therefore, to represent not a living face but a dead one

made up like those at Jericho. In Morocco cowries are made into charms against the Evil Eye, sometimes arranged as a five-leafed rosette: see Westermarck, 1926, I, 439 and Fig. 60.

²⁹ Room IX, Case 4; Case 1, 24.

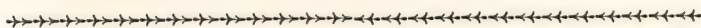
In passing I would call attention to the triple eyes of Fig. 19 b; we shall meet something rather like them again in Ireland.

The absolute dating of these Iberian cultures is controversial. A fixed point is the presence, in the Early Bronze Age settlement of El Argar, of segmented faience beads, imported from the east and certainly not later than about 1400 B.C. The presumably earlier Almerian culture must therefore have flourished at or a little before the middle of the 2nd millennium. This agrees with the Sicilian contacts inferred from bossed bone plaques where these are assigned to the Castelluccio period (c. 1850?–1400 B.C.). It is far more difficult to determine exactly what form those contacts took, whether they were due to trade or migration. The cultures of both Iberia and Sicily at this time have a markedly Eastern Mediterranean flavour, particularly that of El Argar. Childe³⁰ mentions horns of consecration (at Campos), Anatolian similarities in the pottery, the Anatolian practice of jar-burial (also found later in the Aeolian Islands), and describes the Argaric citadels as ‘absurdly like Central Anatolian townships such as Ahlatlibel’. It must have been on this westerly current that the Faces travelled to Iberia, perhaps a little before the middle of the 2nd millennium.

³⁰ 1950 (b), 276–7.

CHAPTER V

IBERIA TO BRITTANY



AS WE HAVE SEEN, the cult of the Eye Goddess could have reached Iberia by several possible routes. Thence it went northwards to Brittany and the British Isles, and southwards to the Canaries, perhaps via a secondary centre in Morocco. It seems also to have crossed the Sahara and reached the Niger bend. The journey from Portugal or Spain to Brittany was probably made by sea. Voyages along the whole Atlantic sea-board from the Canaries to the Hebrides have long been postulated to account for some of the facts; the first inhabitants of the Canaries, for instance, must have been able to cross at least sixty miles of open sea. Further hints of long sea voyages are given by cultural resemblances between Iberia and Brittany; certain features of the rock-carvings of the Canaries and Brittany have more in common with each other than with those of Iberia.

It will be convenient to discuss first the Portuguese and Spanish steles and then the Breton carvings which, as I hope to show, are derived from them. Breuil illustrates seven from Portugal,¹ some of which are illustrated here (Fig. 22). The series begins with a fine stela from Toninuêlo (Pl. 17 and Fig. 21), on whose upper part is carved the outline of a human head and arms. Round the head is a sort of double halo which may represent either the hair set in a particular style or some kind of head-dress; I prefer the former explanation. Below are four loops representing necklaces. The arms and fingers are shown, the latter reaching down to a dotted band, probably meant for a belt. The next is an oval stone from Cáceres about sixteen inches high (Fig. 22 a) round whose semicircular top is a single halo like the last, and doubtless with the same significance; two holes and a vertical line indicate eyes and nose and a horizontal one the mouth. There are four necklace-loops and arms, hands, legs, and feet are all shown. (Was it the finding of a haloed image like this and Fig. 21 that started the legend at Cáceres recorded by Somerset Maugham in his *The Vagrant Mood*, 1953, 61-3?) Another stele, from Crato, shows the hair by crossed lines round the top and sides; the face is similar, and there are at least two necklace-loops—what looks like a third seems incomplete and may be meant for the arms.² Another rather similar about a foot high comes from Quinta do Couquinho. Another, 3 feet 9 inches high, from Serra da Boulhosa shows head and eyes, shoulders and breasts, and four necklace-loops (Pl. 18 and Fig. 22 c). On the face are two vertical grooves converging slightly to the base. A specimen from Casal

¹ 1935, IV, Pl. XLII.

² My descriptions of these steles are based upon some excellent photographs most kindly given to me by Dr and Mrs Leisner. I am also indebted to them

for the gift of Senor Oxea's article (Oxea, 1950) where another haloed figure (from Torrejón El Rubio) is illustrated, Fig. 27.



FIG. 21. Toninuelo stele.

Insalve of which I have no photograph has, below what may be meant for a face,³ a rectangle of concentric lines; the stone is nearly 6 feet high and roughly rectangular. A stone from Asquera (Pl. 24) in the Granada Museum has a rectangular recessed area with eyes and nose left in relief; the top is flat. One from Moncorvo (Tras-os-Montes) in the Ethnological Museum at Lisbon seems to have no eyes but they may be concealed on the photograph by shadows; the nose is a beaky one like the last. From Troitosende, Bana, Pontevedra, is a tall narrow rectangular statue-menhir whose neck is plainly indicated; below it are two rectangles, one with the breasts and the other with crossed lines probably indicating bands.⁴

³ Breuil's illustration (Pl. XLII) is indistinct, but Octobon, 1931, Fig. 82 *ter* and p. 530, gives it eyes and a nose, and rightly (I think) regards it as one of the models for the Breton Box Symbol.

⁴ See a figurine from Palermo, Kühn, 1955, Fig. 74, and for crossed lines on Portuguese plaques see Leisner, 1951, 121-3 and Fig. 4; also p. 119 below.

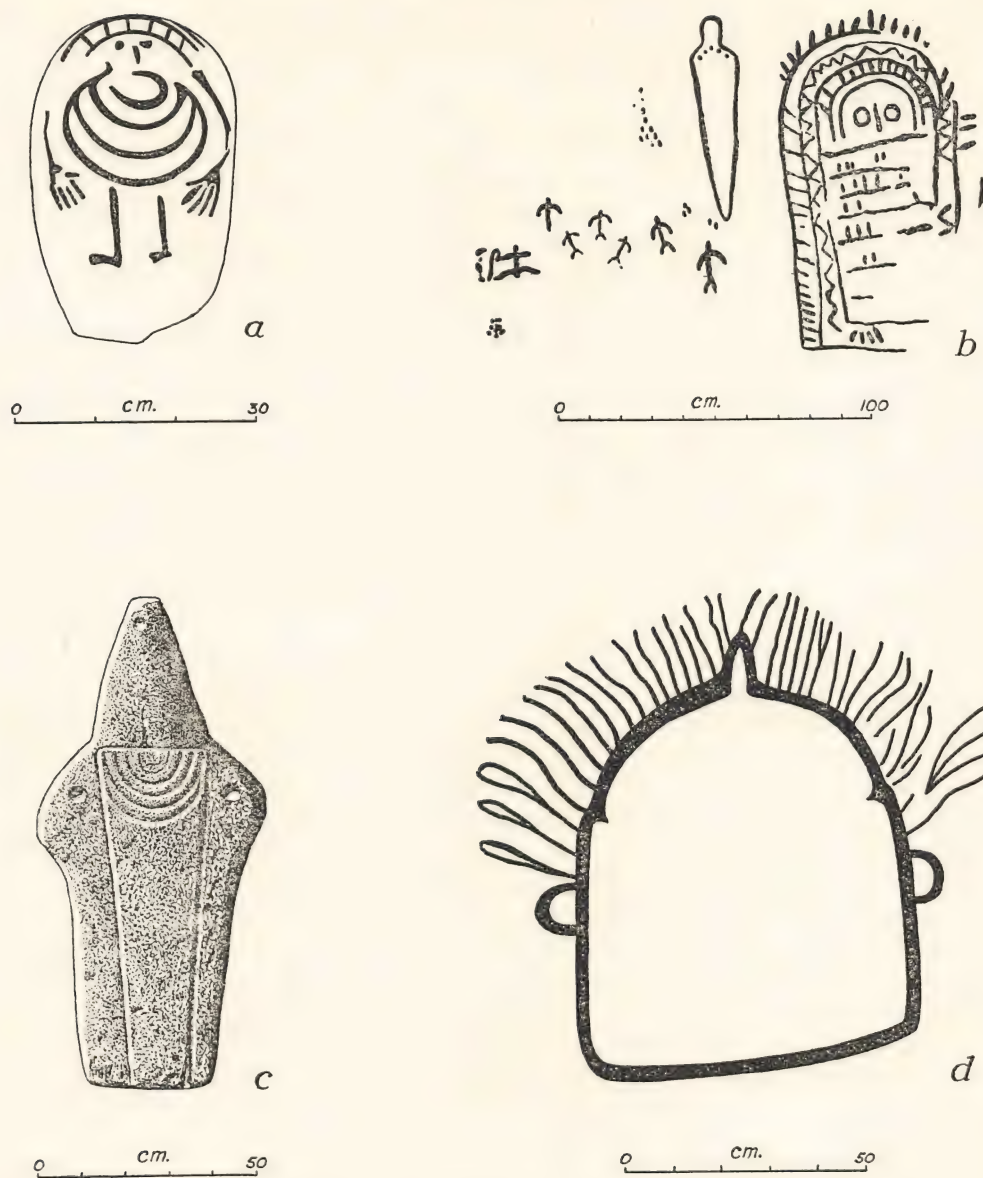


FIG. 22. Iberian steles and the Breton Box Symbol: a. Caçeres; b. Peña Tu; c. Boulhosa; d. Île Longue.

The 'dolmen-idol' carved on the side of the megalithic burial chamber at Pena Tu (Fig. 22 b) has long been known, but it is of great importance in this context, for it is the principal link in the chain connecting the Iberian and Breton carvings. Its position suggests that it was thought to exercise some kind of protecting influence over the

tomb and its occupant, or to scare away evil spirits; a similar function may have been assigned to the human figure on the roof of the Passage Grave at Déhus in Guernsey and to the Conical Box Symbol on the huge capstone of Mané Rutual in Brittany (Fig. 24 b). Functionally too it may correspond to the deity reduced to a bare face and lock of hair (as I interpret them) at Toninuelo (Fig. 19 g) and to those 'staring eyes' at Dowth and New Grange (Pls. 25-30), and perhaps the eyes on the Brak temple also. The Pena Tu carving is not a stele but a design cut (with several others) on the surface of one of the stones forming the tomb. The top is rounded and from it sprout short *painted* lines; next come two bands, the first being partly filled with short oblique grooves and the next inside it with a zigzag line; inside it is a similar band above the face with grooves representing eyebrows. Two round holes with a groove between represent eyes and nose. The middle and lower part is crossed by parallel horizontal grooves with vertical strokes between them (painted, so far as one can judge from a photograph);⁵ this zoning is a distant but clear echo of the Oriental flounces. Four grooves at the base are all that now survive of the feet and toes. To the left of the design is carved a huge tanged blade with five rivets, and further to the left are some small conventional human figures, a mass of dots and a single row of them.⁶ The shape of the Pena Tu carving proves that it represents not the deity but an image of the deity, and we need not look far for the models, for they are illustrated on the same Plate in Breuil's *Corpus* and are those which I have just described (Toninuelo, Cáceres, etc.).

In comparing the Iberian with the Breton carvings the following features are important: (1) the shape, a rectangle or one with a rounded top; (2) the hair-lines, expressed by the painted strokes at Pena Tu and by marginal lines or haloes elsewhere; (3) the face; (4) the horizontal zoning at Pena Tu. Features which (as I think) correspond to all these can be identified on the Breton Passage Graves. Take first the shape; the Bretons sometimes used a boulder whose top was naturally rounded or conical, and on it they cut the outline of what, for lack of a better name, I shall call the Conical Box Symbol. Look for instance at Stone 4 (Fig. 22 d) in the passage leading to the chamber on Île Longue (the next islet to Gavr Inis in the Bay of Morbihan).⁷ The stone itself has straight sides which curve round at the top and rise to a small conical projection in the centre. On the face has been carved the outline of an object having a shape which corresponds closely to its own. At the point where the straight sides begin to curve round is a small nick, and above, the outline is fringed with a row of grooves that are just like those painted strokes on the top of the Pena Tu goddess. At the top is a small conical protuberance, and on each of the straight sides just below the nick is a semicircular groove like a handle or loop, with a small round hole in the middle.

What was the significance of the knob, the nicks and the 'handles'? These are not occasional features; they constantly recur on the monuments, and must have had some significance. The knob may stand for the head; the Boulhosa stele (Pl. 18 and Fig. 22 c)

⁵ Kindly supplied by Mr R. J. C. Atkinson, and as good as can be expected from the condition of the monument and its inaccessibility behind a grille.

⁶ For this compare Breuil, 1952, Fig. 124 (Les Trois Frères), *Kush*, I, 1953, 6 (Es Sihan, Mograt Island, Sudan), and p. 134 below.

⁷ Péquart, 1927, Plates 65 (photo. of the stone in its place), 66 (photo. of cast in Carnac Museum). The monument is now ruined and hard to get at, being on privately owned land.

has just such a conically projecting head and neck, and also has the shoulders marked by a bulge with a hole in it just like the 'handles'; whatever their meaning these bulges are good prototypes for the Breton 'handles'—and the obvious interpretation is that they represent shoulders and breasts. I feel convinced that the Portuguese and Spanish steles are the prototypes of the Breton Box Symbols.

There are other stones in Brittany similarly shaped and having the Box Symbol carved on them, such as the end-support of the capstone at the Table des Marchands, Locmariaquer,⁸ where the sides of the symbol run parallel to the sloping sides of the stone. Here the hair-lines extend right to the bottom, but there are no nicks. That the stone itself was also regarded as symbolic is suggested not only by the shape of those selected but also by the fact that here the two 'handles' are put not with the carved symbol but on the back of the stone itself (right at the bottom).

Another good example is to be seen at Mané Kerioned, where the groove on Stone 3⁹ closely follows the outline of the stone, keeping close to its edge; the intervening narrow space is filled with hair-lines comparable with those of Cáceres (Fig. 22 a).

The huge broken capstone at Mané Rutual has the same rounded end as the others just described, and on the lower face is carved a Conical Box Symbol complete with knob, nicks, and one loop (Fig. 24 b); the outline conforms with that of the stone but occupies only a part of its vast surface. The stone was never placed in the position intended as it broke into two pieces during the process of hauling it on to the supports. This is not only obvious on the spot but is borne out by the gaps between the capstones, which were not numerous enough to cover the whole length. Their total dimensions added to the length of the capstone are almost equal to the length that had to be covered; the original length of the broken capstone was 11.30 m. and that of the Box Symbol is 4.74 m.

The zoning of the image at Pena Tu was traced ultimately to the flounces of the oriental prototypes. The immediate source of inspiration for the Breton examples was probably Iberia; one can see such zoning—very crude but authentic—at Gavr Inis and Buteven Hach,¹⁰ and at the latter the horizontal bands have rows of vertical strokes between them, as at Pena Tu; also on the Box Symbol on the support at Table des Marchands.

In this context I would suggest that it is this *zoning and grouping* which distinguishes all these representations of the goddess from those other rock-carvings which seem to be of native origin. The latter consist of small conventional human figures and other signs scattered over the surface without any attempt at order or arrangement. It is a primitive undisciplined art style, uninhibited by orderly conventions, and it contrasts strongly with the attempts at grouping, however slight, displayed by the plaques and steles. These attempts represent an advance such as might well originate from imitating the products of a more highly developed culture. This subjective opinion is consistent with the hypothesis of an oriental origin, which has some objective evidence in its favour.

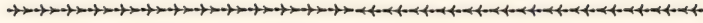
⁸ Péquart, 1927, Pl. 39.

⁹ Péquart, 1927, Pl. 33.

¹⁰ Péquart, 1927, Pl. 39.

CHAPTER VI

GAVR INIS



THE MOST FAMOUS of the Breton tombs is the Passage Grave on the little islet of Gavr Inis (Goat Island) in the Bay of Morbihan. Of its twenty-nine stones no less than twenty-three are covered with carved patterns; unlike most of the others they are in an excellent state of preservation. The commonest motif consists of multiple arcs; in spite of statements in the text-books, the spiral is very rare, and the true spiral is absent. There is a sort of spiral on Stone 18 (left side), but the circular lines on the right are not spirals for they run off at the top as straight lines. There is something like a flattened spiral at the bottom of Stone 17, but the lines are not now continuous. On Stone 7 (not illustrated by Péquart) the lines seemed to me to run spirally, but they may be merely concentric S-curves returning on themselves, like those on Stone 6 next to it, and these are all aberrant forms. I can find no other instances. There is not the slightest resemblance to the spirals of Mycenae. The dominant motif is the multiple arc which occurs on twenty-two stones.

In attempting to interpret the meaning of these designs one should remember a story told by Professor Hutton about the Nagas of Assam whom he has lived with and knows intimately. The Nagas still build megalithic monuments, or did so in the days when Hutton lived there. One day he came upon a man chipping a pattern—or it may have been merely a cup-mark—on one of the stones. Delighted that at last he had the opportunity, denied to prehistorians, of getting an authoritative first-hand explanation, he asked him what was the meaning or significance of the marks? The man replied that he did not know! They were the customary patterns which it was proper to carve; so far as he knew they had always been carved; and there the matter ended. When the maker himself confesses ignorance the archaeologist should perhaps hesitate or even remain silent. Nevertheless, patterns dictated by custom may once have had a meaning that was subsequently blurred or forgotten, surviving only as vestigial remnants of a once functional design. That may be the explanation of the Gavr Inis patterns. I suspect that the stones were carved by several different people, for individual peculiarities may be detected. But I think there was a common background of traditional lore and ritual which was dimly present in the minds of each. The craftsman would know the proper place for certain things, e.g., for short grooves round the top and sides of the stone or above the multiple arcs; in the nine examples where these rows of short grooves ('hair-lines') occur at Gavr Inis, three are at the top of the stone only, six are at the top and sides, and of these nine there are six placed above multiple arcs (Fig. 23, b, c, e). The same short grooves, it will be remembered, occurred round the

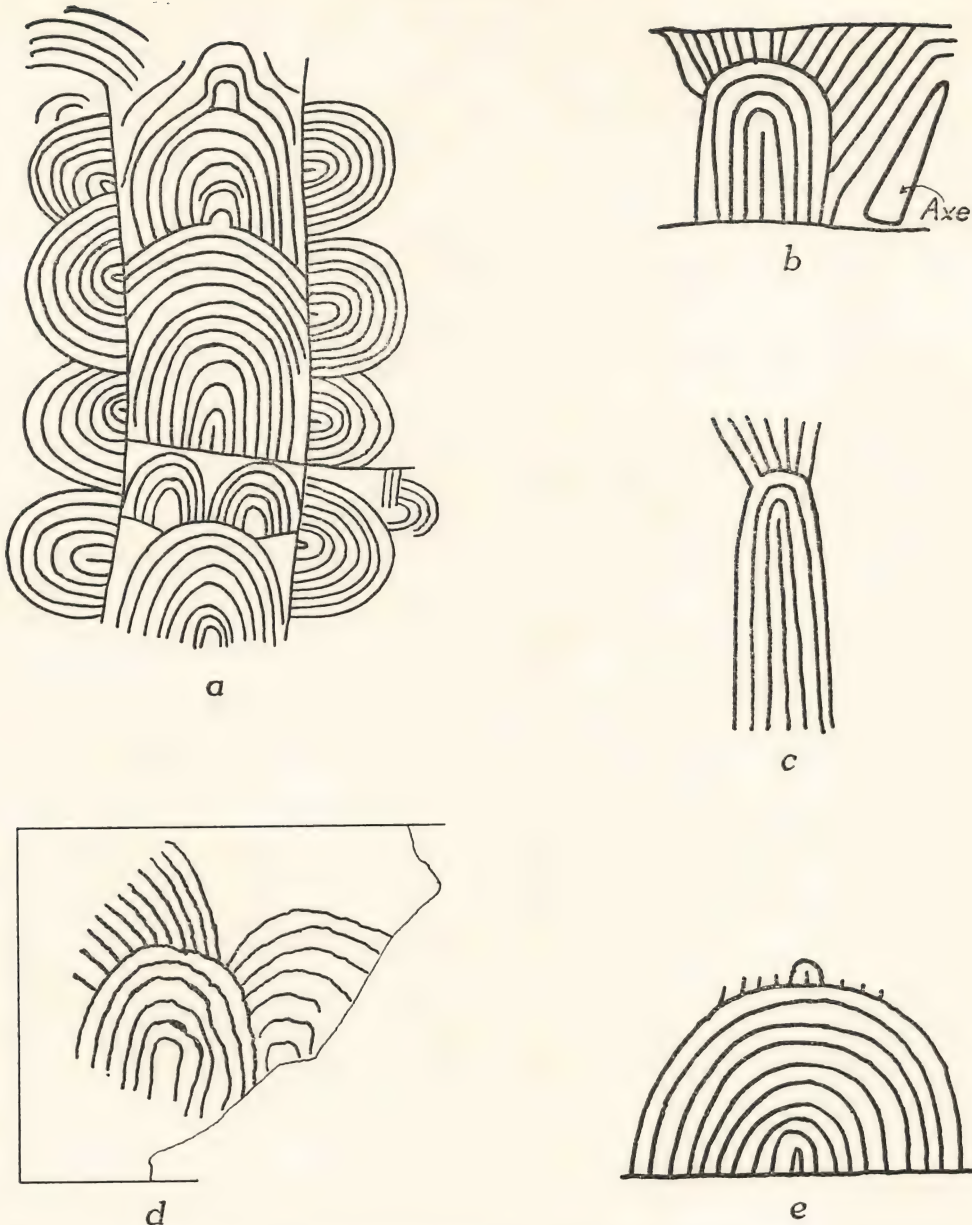


FIG. 23. Multiple arcs: a. Gavv Inis; b. Gavv Inis; c. Gavv Inis; d. Lough Crew; e. Gavv Inis.

top and sides of the Box Symbol and were interpreted as hair, on the strength of the Iberian steles claimed as its prototype. Their position at Gavv Inis is consistent with a similar explanation; and if that is a correct one, the stones themselves and the multiple arcs should correspond in some way to the image on the steles. They should therefore

be blurred images of the goddess put in the tomb to look after the dead person; and that is what I think they are.

The chief motifs at Gavr Inis may be tabulated as follows, my interpretation of each being put in brackets, followed by the number of the plate in Péquart's Corpus:

- (1) Short grooves at top and sides (hair-lines): 103, 105, 108, 109, 113, 117, 121, 129, 132.
- (2) Multiple arcs (sometimes orbit-lines and necklaces): on nearly every stone.
- (3) pairs of lines curving outwards (eyebrows): 114, 115, 124.
- (4) wavy lines (tresses): 101, 105.
- (5) vertical rows of chevrons: 110, 123, 126, 129.

To these may be added one instance each of a rectangular Box Symbol (130) and of a Crozier (130).

1. *The Short Grooves or Hair-Lines* have already been discussed and derived from those on the Iberian steles. They also occur on the Almerian bone idols,¹ which may be another source of inspiration of the Gavr Inis art.

2. *The Multiple Arcs*, shaped like a capital letter U, occur either inverted or the right way up or on their sides. I regard the first two as derived from the multiple lines round the eyes of the Almerian idols, which, as their position below as well as above the eye shows, are not really intended—or not solely intended—to represent eyebrows but rather the outlines of the orbit of the eye. The arcs which are not inverted and are U-shaped may also stand for the necklace. Here and elsewhere there is an obvious confusion of motifs, and we must not press the identification too hard. This interpretation is confirmed by the U-shaped channels or grooves on the Conguel (Morbihan) pot, from which on each side run straight grooves ending in V's, just like those on some of the Millares pots (e.g. Leisner, 1943, Pl. 96).

3. The orbital interpretation is supported by a pair of juxtaposed multiple arcs on Stone 20 (124) which are placed on their sides and have their lines arranged in a pattern strongly suggestive of those on the Almerian idols, with a small triangle perhaps representing the nose. The two pairs of multiple arcs on their sides on Stone 26 (131) may have the same intention. An almost identical design at Lough Crew is interpreted by Breuil² as the eyes and nose of a human face. The concentric lines on Stone 18 (121), which I regard as merely a variant of the multiple arcs, are strongly suggestive of eyes; they have hair-lines above them and definite but faint traces of hair-lines on the much-worn surface below.

The lines on Stone 14 (114) seem to suggest another influence. The stone is divided into three parts; the upper part is covered by grooves set rather closely together and the middle part by similar grooves set further apart, those of both sets curving outwards. The lower part is bare of ornament. The two upper sets are separated by a horizontal groove, and it is clear that they were each intended to have a different significance. Those in the top row I regard as meant for hair, while those of the lower row, which merge into the multiple arcs, are meant for orbital lines. Here I suspect may be

¹ E.g. Leisner, 1943, Pl. 94, 2, where the position at the top of the object is exactly comparable with Gavr Inis, Péquart's Pls. 109, 113, 121, 129, 132.

² 1934, 298, Fig. 9.

discerned the influence of the Portuguese plaques; one illustrated by Leisner³ (Fig. 16 c) has a pair of round eyes with lashes and two broad cross-hatched bands curving outwards on each side, exactly as do those lines on Stone 14 at Gavr Inis. On other plaques there are several of these lines, up to six in number; in these cases they seem to represent the arms and necklaces. The point is that, whatever their intention, they may well have served as the prototypes of the Gavr Inis pattern.

Similar rows of curved lines are carved on the face of the conical Box Symbol on the end-support of the Table des Marchands, and may be similarly explained (Péquart, Pls. 39 and 40).

To return to the multiple arcs lying on their sides (and often duplicated):— The best example is on Stone 9 (107) where four pairs are placed on each side of a vertical panel of upright arcs (Fig. 23 a). These may be compared with patterns on the Almerian bones illustrated by Leisner.⁴ His Pl. 94, Fig. 4 has two pairs of slightly oval eyes with lashes above and below each; the eyes are separated by a narrow vertical band ornamented with small chevrons and crossed lines which are simply a continuation of the eyelashes that get mixed up when they meet. The orbital lines appear open on the outer sides like those on Stone 20 at Gavr Inis. There are three pairs of eye-circles on Leisner's Pl. 92, Fig. 5, the whole being surrounded by hair-lines. On Fig. 6 there are only two, with hair-lines above and below the pair and a zigzag line dividing them.

These vertical sets of multiple arcs seem, then, to be simply eyes, duplicated and surrounded by multiple lines which represent the orbits and are sometimes perhaps confused with eyebrows. They have their open ends facing both outwards and inwards. The same explanation will account for the multiple arcs on the Moroccan menhirs; it seems more likely that these designs came from Iberia, where their development from a meaningful one can be traced, than vice versa.

4. *Wavy lines* occur on Stones 4 and 8. Their significance on 8 is not apparent, but on Stone 4 they start at the top of the stone, on the left of a fine set of multiple arcs, and may be interpreted as side-tresses. In Spain one of the bone idols⁵ (Fig. 19 c) has what I interpret as side-tresses indicated on each side by a hatched zigzag line starting from the topmost band of ornament and dying out about the middle. On two Spanish bone phalange-idols⁶ (Fig. 19 a) wavy lines of exactly the same kind cover the back part behind the face and must surely be regarded as hair-lines. Similar lines are found on some of the other Breton monuments. There are five on the buried end of the Manio menhir,⁷ one at Bitten-er-Hach,⁸ and several at Petit Mont.⁹ These and some not mentioned here are regarded by Péquart and others as representations of snakes; that is possible, for there is abundant evidence of a snake-cult in Cyprus and Syria and elsewhere.¹⁰ Wavy lines need not always mean the same thing, nor are all of them alike; the 'snakes' at Manio are more sinuous than most, but they are not entirely convincing.

³ 1951, Pl. XV, 31.

⁴ 1943, Pls 92 (5, 6), 94 (4).

⁵ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 92 (13).

⁶ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 88, A 1, A 3.

⁷ Péquart, 1927, Pls 4 and 5.

⁸ Péquart, 1927, Pl. 23.

⁹ Péquart, 1927, Pls 71, 82-3.

¹⁰ For a further discussion of snake cults see Brey, 1953 (on Galician carvings), and the articles there mentioned; also Baumgartel, 1947, 63 (significance of wavy lines); George Thomson, 1949, 114-20; Nilsson, 1950, 397; Frankfort, 1955, 42; Leisner in *Ethnos*, XX, 39-40.

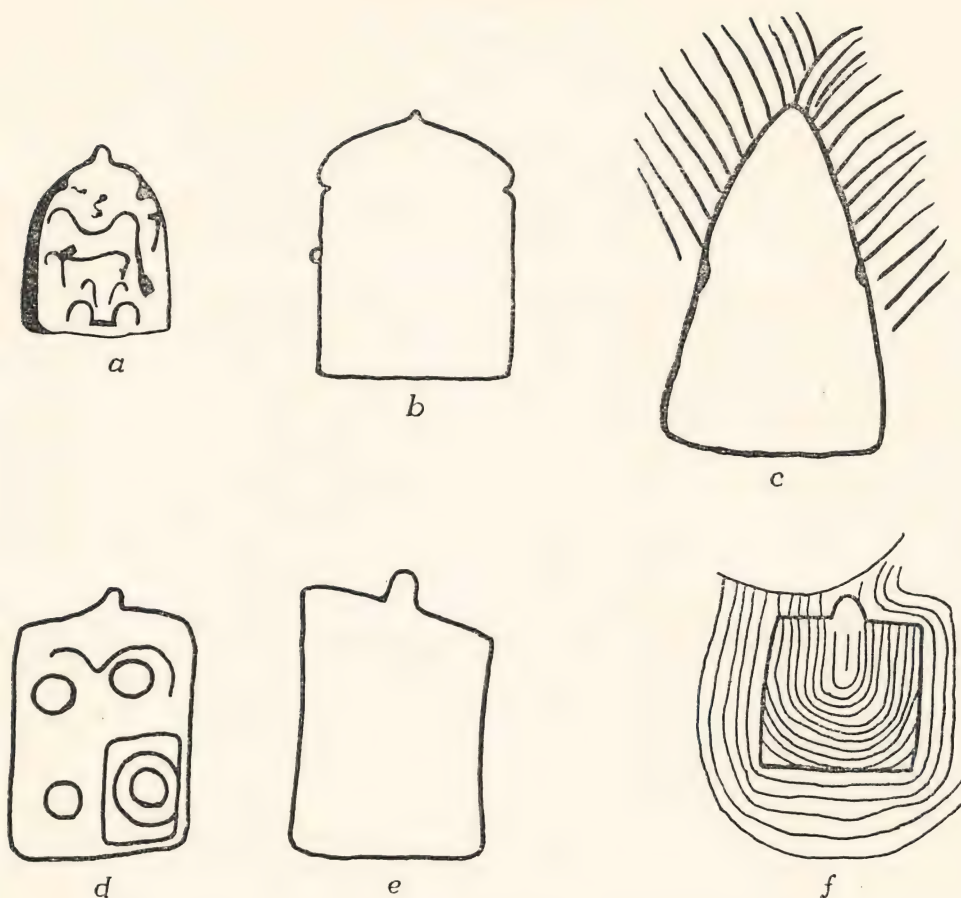


FIG. 24. Breton Box Symbols: a. Mané-er-Hroëk; b. Mané Rutual; c. Île Longue; d. Pierres Plates; e. Île Longue; f. Gavr Inis.

5. *Vertical rows of chevrons*, forming a herring-bone or fern-leaf pattern occur on Stones 11, 20, and 24. Again we may find an explanation by comparing for instance the Almerian bones on Leisner's Pl. 92 No. 5, with his Pl. 94 No. 4. When the hairs round the eyes meet they form a pattern which in the first example, where there are three eyes within one hair-line band, becomes a vertical row of chevrons. But other explanations are possible. Many of the Portuguese plaques, for instance, have parallel vertical columns which form a chevron pattern.

It remains to mention the rectangular Box Symbol (Fig. 24 f) and Crozier (Fig. 25 c) on Stone 25 at Gavr Inis, and lastly the axes. The Box Symbol is very sharply defined, and although it does not fit at all comfortably into the pattern of curved lines, yet they do reluctantly conform to it. The interior is completely filled with U-shaped arcs

which also surround it on three sides, the grooves of the latter being set a little wider apart. There is a rounded conical protuberance in the middle of the upper side formed by the groove-line of that side. If the conical Box Symbol were derived from a stele or menhir of similar shape we might expect this rectangular one to be derived from some other cult-image of the goddess, such as the stele from Serra da Boulhosa (Fig. 22 c), which has a conical head-and-neck and a necklace of four strings. A possible solution of the puzzle is that the artist had in mind both the plaques and the steles; from the one came the rectangularity and from the other the projecting conical 'head'. The artist's ideas, as we have seen, were confused and vague; certain forms—multiple arcs, wavy lines and the rest—were required by custom for the magic to work. But he had (we presume) no models or pattern-book. His productions are what we might expect of barbarians working at several removes from a more advanced but still barbaric art. They are the sort of thing we should expect to find produced by mixed communities, consisting of immigrants from a more advanced culture and of mesolithic, perhaps not yet completely agricultural, natives. That agrees with the evidence from other sources; there is nothing in Brittany between the squalid midden-makers of Teviac and the megalithic people. There is, in fact, a hint of such an admixture at Petit Mont, near Arzon,¹¹ though it is no more than a hint. There in a rectangular frame a pair of feet is shown in relief, the toes at the top (Pl. 19). I do not think these are directly related to the feet on the Iberian monuments, which are in their natural place at the bottom with the toes pointing downwards. These Petit Mont feet, too, are clearly delimited from the other designs as a separate entity. There is a similar carving of six or more pairs of feet on a natural outcrop of granite at Roche Priol,¹² which according to Péquart have nothing in common with the megalithic carvings, either in position, technique, or character. This practice of carving on the rocks and stones may possibly be derived from some earlier (mesolithic?) tradition which came to be incorporated in the Passage Grave culture. As we shall see (p. 104) it reached Britain at the same time as the Passage Graves, about the middle of the 2nd millennium.

Two examples of the rectangular Box Symbol occur outside Brittany, on a megalithic burial-chamber called Le Berceau near the hamlet of Changé, commune of Saint Piat, seventeen kilometres north-west of Chartres (Eure et Loire).¹³ There are two perfect symbols and remains of one imperfect one. The technique is that of light pocking on a siliceous sandstone rather like sarsen. Two of the boxes have horn-like linear projections at the top and are regarded by Piggott as the last remnants of the Breton hair-lines. The other symbols include crosses, at least one hafted axe, wavy lines, and a sort of branching plant-form. The last occurs in the rock paintings of the earlier kind in Spain and also at Lough Crew in Ireland. In Crete and Greece it is shown standing between the Sacral Horns and is interpreted as the symbol of vegetation; it also occurs elsewhere.¹⁴

The Crozier has a respectable ancestry in the East. In Brittany it is found on several

¹¹ Péquart, 1927, Pls 75–8.

¹² Péquart, 1927, Pls 135–6, p. 14.

¹³ Stuart Piggott, *Ant.*, IX, 1935, 342, Pls 5 and 6.

¹⁴ E.g. (in Spain) Breuil, 1935, Fig. 43 (Piedra Escrita); Nilsson, 1950, Fig. 72; *Ant.*, XXXI, 1957, Pl. 7 b (Pylos gem).

monuments, the best examples being on Stone 25 at Gavr Inis and on a stone formerly at Le Lizo (Pl. 20). The Breton examples have been excellently described by Péquart,¹⁵ with whose conclusions I agree entirely. They are clearly meant to represent a rod with a hooked end that had some cult significance, as indeed bishops' croziers still have. An exhibit in the Musée de l'Homme (Trocadéro, Paris) states that a hooked stick (*crosse*) put on the roofs of the temples of the Binu in the Niger bend (French Sudan)

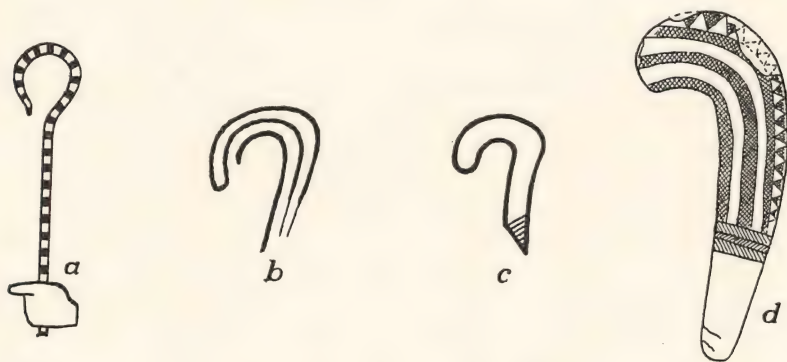


FIG. 25. Croziers: a. Thebes, Egypt; b. Le Lizo, Brittany; c. Gavr Inis, Brittany; d. Olival da Pega, Portugal.

are male weapons regarded as the symbol of power. In Brittany croziers are also found carved on stones at Mané Rutual (Péquart, Pl. 53) and the Table des Marchands (*ibid.*, 42). An interesting feature is that the Gavr Inis example has on its lower part a row of oblique ornamental grooves (Fig. 25 c), while the one from Le Lizo (now in Carnac Museum) has a medial groove down the middle, parallel with the edges (Pl. 20 and Fig. 25 b). Now actual examples of croziers have been found in Spain and Portugal, in graves; some from Antó Grande do Olival de Pega (Fig. 25 d) have precisely similar hatched bands along their length, and bands of hatched lines on the lower end.¹⁶ There is no doubt at all that the Breton examples represent croziers which may well have been in actual use there; that would explain why the representations are so 'near to life', as contrasted with the other designs. Axes, too, are lifelike and unmistakable everywhere on the carvings, and axes we know they had before them as models. Nor can there be much doubt that the croziers came from the East via Iberia (Fig. 25 a).

At Gavr Inis the crozier is closely associated with designs which I believe to represent a disintegrated fertility goddess, and that is why it concerns us here. In the East (with one exception) it is found in the hands of males only. The earliest known, but rather ambiguous, representation is on the Hunters' Palette,¹⁷ usually dated to the Late Predynastic or Early Dynastic period, say 3000 B.C. or a bit after. Leisner, in comparing the Reguengos crozier with the Egyptian representations (which are of course on a

¹⁵ 1927, 53-6.

¹⁶ Leisner, 1951, 135-8, Pl. 36. Another, made of slate and unornamented, was found in Grave 17

(a tholos) at Los Millares; Leisner, 1943, 42-3, Pl. 19. In the same tomb was a 'grape-cup'.

¹⁷ Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 12.

minute scale), says that the latter 'reproduce exactly the form of the recurved staff' of Reguengos. I agree that there is a resemblance and I think that the weapon there may well be the ancestor of the later croziers; but they differ from the western ones in one small detail—there is a break in the crook and at the end is a triangular knob separated at the base from the rest of the weapon. The other hunters carry mace-headed clubs (which later became royal emblems),¹⁸ spears, and double-axes which are evidently

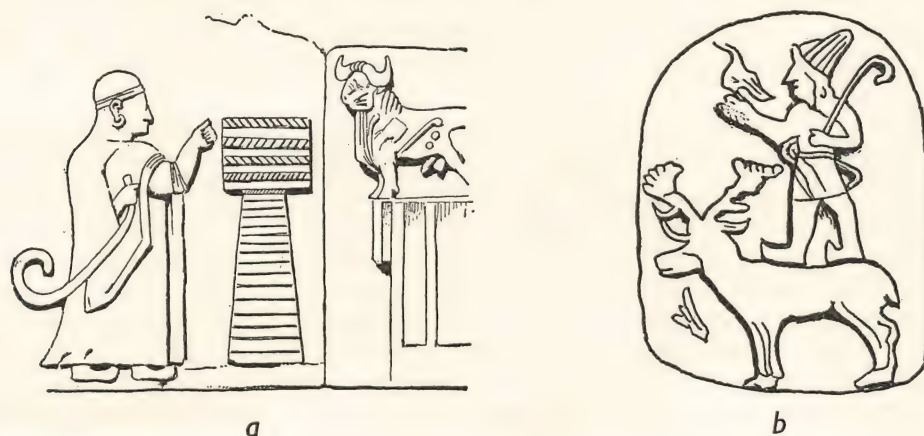


FIG. 26. Hittite crooks: a. Alaja Hüyük; b. Yeniköy.

weapons for finishing off the prey. A later representation from Ras Shamra¹⁹ shows a god, identified by Schaeffer as Baal, holding a crozier in one hand and a spear in the other (Pl. 21). It seems probable that the sceptre was originally a weapon of some kind which later, like the club and the axe, acquired a symbolic or ritual significance. So too may the wearing of animal masques have originated from the severely practical headgear of hunters. Another Ras Shamra god, perhaps Mot,²⁰ also holds a crozier. Both these Ras Shamra figures are dated to the early part of the 2nd millennium. A somewhat earlier 6th dynasty representation²¹ shows King Pepi I holding a crozier in his left hand, and later ones show similar croziers held by Seti I and Osiris²² (Fig. 25 a).

The crozier does not seem to occur in Mesopotamia but only in Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia. Leisner points out²³ that, like the double axe, the crozier was foreign to the culture of Egypt where no actual croziers themselves have been found; and he cites examples of its ritual use from Ras Shamra and Crete. While, as he rightly warns us, the analogies are too few to justify the drawing of conclusions, they are at least consistent with the other evidence already cited for an oriental source of the Western cult as a whole.

Objects like croziers occur in scenes on the Hittite monuments. At Alaja Hüyük a king is shown on a stone carving worshipping the image of a bull set on a pedestal

¹⁸ See Piggott, 1954, under Mace heads.

¹⁹ Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 491.

²⁰ Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 489.

²¹ Pritchard, 1954, Fig. 379.

²² Pritchard, 1954, Figs 545 (1318–1301 B.C.), 556 (663–525? B.C.). In the last Osiris has a mummiform body.

²³ 1951, 138.

(Fig. 26 a); in his right hand he holds a long curved object ending in a hook. Another slab shows a queen, also worshipping a bull, holding the same kind of rod; the handle end of both is slightly bent. A god on a stag holds a crozier over his left shoulder (Fig. 26 b), and there are several other occurrences. Gurney compares it with the *lituus* of the Roman augurs; the word is probably of Etruscan origin meaning 'crooked', and the thing is also represented in Etruscan art. The *lituus* may well have come from Anatolia with the Etruscans and later have been taken over by the Roman augurs, whose name may be connected with *augeo*, to increase, indicating an earlier connection with a fertility cult. But the crozier itself seems primarily to have been an emblem of power.²⁴

Axes, both hafted and unhafted, are carved on several stones at Gavr Inis, the best being a group of eighteen (unhafted) on Stone 21. Most if not all of these were certainly meant to represent *stone axes*, for they are identical in shape with the axes found in large numbers as grave-goods in the monuments themselves.²⁵ There is a hafted axe of the same type carved on a stone interpolated above Stone 6, and several others on stones at Mané-er-Hroëk, Mané Kerioned (Pl. 22), and elsewhere.

Everyone agrees that, here as in many other countries, the axe had a religious significance; it is not easy to discover exactly what it signified. Those which were deposited in such large numbers in the tombs were obviously votive offerings; many had been deliberately broken into two or three pieces. The breaking must have been deliberate because the material (green fibrolite) is extremely tough; no one who has seen the broken axes can have any doubts left on this point. Such a breaking of grave-goods is usually explained as a killing of them so that the 'soul' of the broken object may go with the dead person and serve him in the next world. It is difficult to think that anyone can have needed so many axes, but of course that would not apply here to a collective burial. Péquart suggests²⁶ that the carving of axes on the walls of a tomb was a substitute for the deposition of actual axes there; but that does not explain the representations of single axes, of large size, isolated, and often hafted, some carved on the stones before they were put in place. The axe carved above the Box Symbol on the capstone at Mané Rutual seems to be intentionally placed in that prominent central position as if it were closely associated with the symbol itself; if the Box Symbol is to be interpreted, as I have suggested, as the representation of a cult-image of a goddess, then the axe may have been her symbol or emblem. There is a close association between the Box Symbol (Fig. 24 a) and the eight axes round it at Mané-er-Hroëk (Péquart, Pl. 24).

The cult of the axe is a very ancient one in the East. The earliest evidence comes from Arpachiyah²⁷ in the same region as that in which the cult of the fertility goddess and her associates originated (as we saw). There it is in the form of the double-axe, and it was presumably from this centre that it spread westwards to Anatolia and Crete.

²⁴ Gurney, 1952, 66, 154, 198, 206: Figs 7, 8, 16 (1 and 2), 17; Pl. 16. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1953², s.v. Augures.

²⁵ See Vannes Museum Catalogue Nos 651-754 and Pl. 2 (Mané-er-Hroëk); 779-815 (Mont St Michel); 826-57 (Tumiac); and many others. Péquart claims (p. 43) that a slight expansion of the

edge at Gavr Inis proves that the models were of metal. But some of the stone axes (e.g. No. 655 above) have a similar feature. This in turn, however, was an imitation of a metal type, so the net result is the same.

²⁶ 1927, 44.

²⁷ See Mallowan in *Iraq*, II, 1935.

Although the double-axe reached Egypt it never took root there. Some of the hunters on the Hunters' Palette have double axes; but these, like their quilted kilts, are taken to be a foreign element. In Crete the double-axe appeared early, certainly before 2000 B.C.; and it was both a practical axe and a cult-object. It was, says Nilsson,²⁸ 'the most conspicuous [Minoan religious symbol or emblem], the real sign of Minoan religion and as omnipresent as the cross in Christianity and the crescent in Islam'. It is the sign of a goddess and is never seen in the hands of a male god. Nilsson concludes that the cult of the axe is derived from its use to slaughter sacrificial animals.

In Syria and Anatolia the axe is carried by the male gods Baal and Teshub respectively, gods of fertility and of the weather (Pl. 3 a). In the Ras Shamra epic both Baal and Anat smite and lay about them prodigiously, both with clubs and with knives and swords, cutting up and slaughtering animals as well as human beings. In the performance of the rites it was presumably the priests and acolytes who, sometimes perhaps impersonating the deities, made the sacrifices. By some such process the weapons would acquire a cult significance.

The axe as a cult-object is almost completely unknown in Iberia, unless we include representations of it, together with bows, dirks, and swords, on some of the later steles.²⁹ Still later examples suggest that these are tombstones displaying the arms of the dead warrior, so that they belong to a period when collective burial had ceased. This is confirmed by the types of the objects which are those of a fully developed Bronze Age. On the other hand the dagger is represented quite often in rock-carvings. At Pena Tu it looms up importantly beside the image of the goddess herself, and it is fairly common in the open rock-carvings of the north-west of Spain. But it is not found as a cult-object in the south any more than is the axe. Whence then did the Breton axe-cult come from? I suggest that it came from the Seine-Oise-Marne (SOM)³⁰ culture of northern France. The tombs there consist of long rectangular buried cists with porthole slabs, and of artificial caves cut in the chalk whose doors were the equivalent of the port-hole slabs. On the walls of these caves hafted axes are carved and drawn with charcoal, and amongst the grave-goods have been found small axe-amulets. The goddess herself is carved on the chalk walls and her breasts on the slabs of the stone tombs. Intercourse with Brittany is proved by the presence of SOM types in Brittany, and of Grand Pressigny flint in both regions. The SOM culture is one of those which Piggott calls Secondary Neolithic. Some of its components were inherited from the mesolithic forest people; others, including the tomb-types and the goddess, came in from outside. Whence they came is still controversial, Childe looking to the south and Daniel and Piggott to the west and south-west. Wherever it came from it must, I submit, have been from a region with an axe-cult; and if we should reverse my hypothesis and derive the SOM axe-cult from Brittany, we should have to explain how the axe-cult got there. It is most unlikely to have started there; Brittany is a pool into which culture-elements flowed, not a source of them, and in any case the cult of axe-deities is well authenticated in the East far earlier.

²⁸ 1950, 194, 226 and Fig. 112.

²⁹ Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLIII.

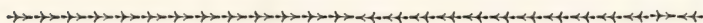
³⁰ For which see Childe and Sandars in *L'Anthro-*

pologie, LIV, 1950, 1-18; and Piggott in same, LVIII, 1954, 18-21; Childe; 1950, 302-5; Jacquetta Hawkes, 1938.

The SOM culture lasted well into the Bronze Age, perhaps till the middle of the 2nd millennium; but the date of its beginning is much harder to fix—it may have been at the end of the 3rd. We may therefore conclude that at some time during the first half of the 2nd millennium the prehistoric Bretons and the SOM people met each other, and as a result of the meeting the Bretons added the axe to their cult-repertory. Both were adherents of a fertility cult and worshippers of its goddess, who was also closely associated with burial rites and tombs; it was the same religion split into two branches, each of which developed along its own lines. The meeting of the two might be compared with the Synod of Whitby when Irish Christians met adherents of the Augustinian branch from Canterbury; both branches stemmed from Rome but had developed different practices during the two centuries of their separation. The contact thus brought about was reflected soon afterwards in the new art motifs that began to appear on the sculptured stone crosses.

CHAPTER VII

MORE BRETON SYMBOLS: ALSO BAETYLs AND QUERNS



THERE ARE MANY other signs and symbols carved on the Breton megalithic tombs besides those already discussed. Most of them are geometric patterns which defy interpretation. Without more clues than are available at present any attempt at interpretation is merely speculation without evidence, and therefore unprofitable. But there are two symbols, or perhaps groups of symbols, which must be described and discussed, even if the discussion should lead to no certain conclusions. They are the so-called 'cephalopod' and the rayed circle.

The 'cephalopod' gets its name (here retained for lack of a better one) from one of the stones of the Passage Grave at Lufang, now in the Carnac Museum (Fig. 27 a). The carving on it certainly does look like a cuttle-fish, though there are anomalies. That interpretation is accepted by Péquart, who backs it by a comparison with undoubted representations of cuttle-fish on Minoan and Mycenaean pots. But there are insuperable objections to this interpretation. To begin with, there is not a shred of evidence that the cuttle-fish ever had any religious significance in Crete or Greece or anywhere else; and it is quite certain that the Breton symbols had that. The Lufang stone and the others thus ornamented formed parts of burial-chambers and the symbol cannot be dissociated from the rest whose religious significance is accepted. No such symbol occurs anywhere except in Brittany; it is found in no intermediate land, and it is a long way from Brittany to the Aegean. Even more damaging to the cephalopod theory is the fact that the design often occurs in forms that have no resemblance at all to a cephalopod. It seems more logical to regard these as the norm of the design, whatever be its significance, rather than to select a single example which happens, perhaps quite accidentally, to look like a cuttle-fish. I prefer to follow Luquet (1910) and regard the 'cephalopod' symbols as 'figurations humaines'.

The symbol is found on at least four monuments—Lufang (Fig. 27 a), Lizo, Rocher, and Pierres Plates—and there are doubtful instances as well. The best collection is on the support-stones of the Passage Grave of Pierres Plates near Locmariaquer¹ where there are at least eleven examples, six on Stone 13 and one each on Stones 1, 2, 5, 7, and 10 (Pl. 23 a). The one on Stone 1 (Fig. 27 b) consists of three 'rectangles', one inside the other, with rounded corners and a deep indentation in the middle of the top. Down

¹ Péquart, 1927, Pls 87-94.

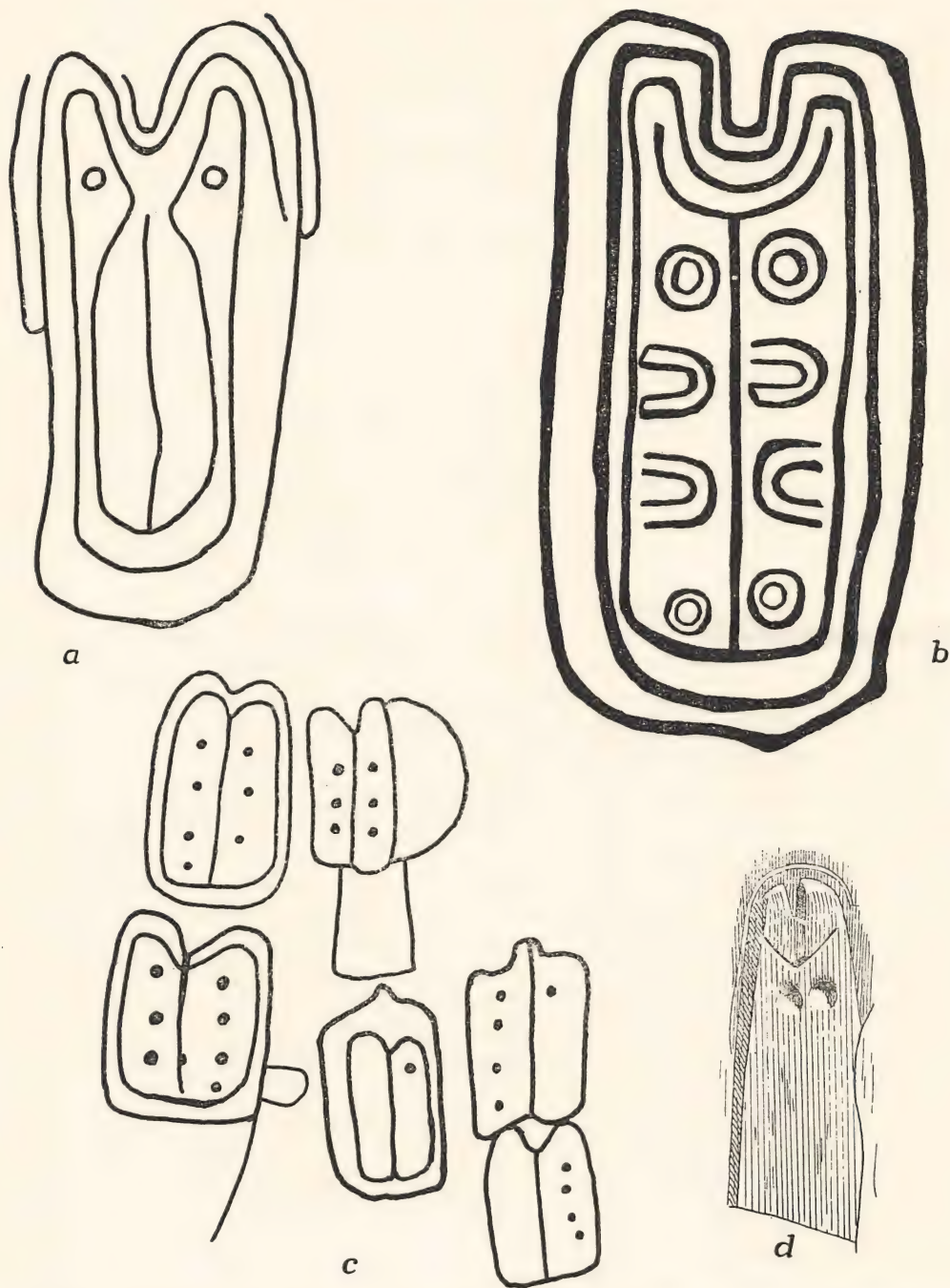


FIG. 27. 'Cephalopods': a. Lufang; b. Pierres Plates; c. Pierres Plates; d. Grotte de Coizard.



17. Toninuelo stele



18. Boulhosa stele



19. Cast of carvings at Petit Mont, Brittany, in Carnac Museum: top left, a Box Symbol:
bottom left, croziers; bottom right, feet



20. Crozier (in centre) and 'cephalopods' on a stone from Le Lizo now in Carnac Museum



21. Plumed god with crozier and spear from Ras Shamra perhaps representing Aliyan Baal



22. Hafted axes on a stone from Kerioned now in Carnac Museum



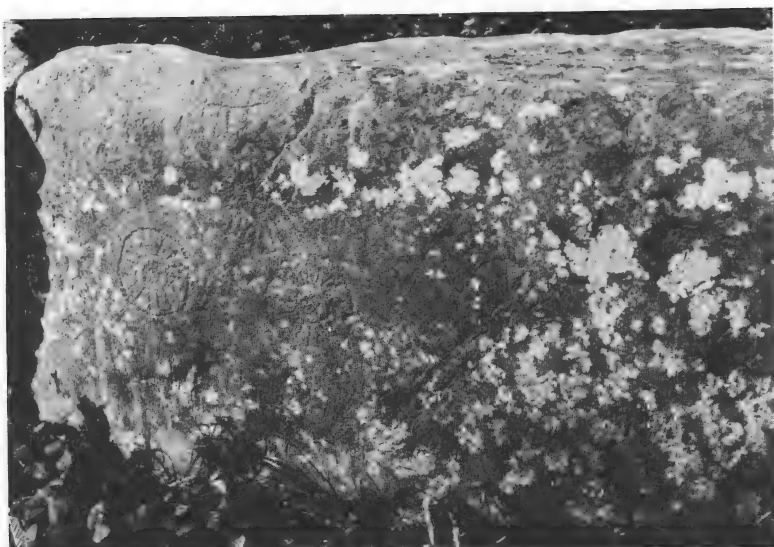
23a. 'Cephalopods' on a stone at Les Pierres Plates, Locmariaquer



23b. Stele from Moncorvo, Tras-os-Montes, Portugal



24. Stele from Asquera, now in Granada Museum



25a. Eyes on kerbstone of cairn, Dowth, Ireland



25b. Close-up of one of the eyes



26. Stone with carved circles etc. on left of end-chamber at Dowth



27. Rear stone in north side-chamber of Cairn L, Lough Crew, Ireland



28. Capstone over end-chamber of Cairn T (the Hag's Cairn), Lough Crew



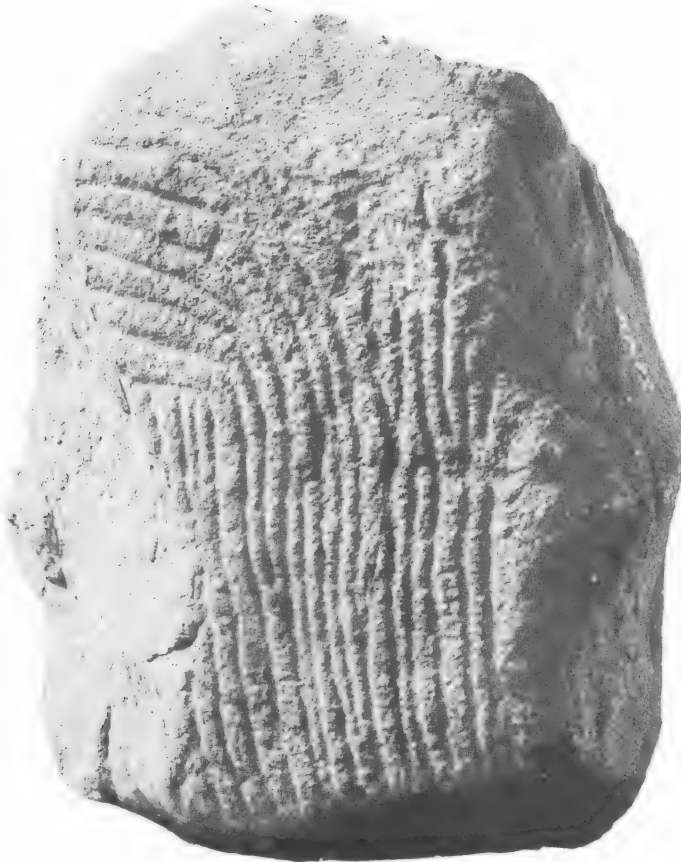
29. Rear stone in end-chamber of Cairn T (the Hag's Cairn), Lough Crew



30. Capstone over north chamber, New Grange, Ireland



31a. Danish face-pot



31b. Stone carved with multiple arcs, Tiberke, Denmark



32. Tabelbalet, Sahara: one of the small circle of nine stones

the middle is a straight groove, and in the panels on each side are pairs of double circles and U's. Those on Stones 7 and 10 are similar but slightly different in detail. On Stone 2 the inner line contains two vertical rows of slightly curved lines branching from a medial line. The examples on Stone 13 are smaller and much simplified versions of the same design; but one of them is placed inside a badly executed version meant for the rectangular Box Symbol, and another is a combination of the Box Symbol and the 'cephalopod'. The same combination occurs also at Le Lizo,² where there are at least four symbols (Plate 20). If my interpretation of the Box Symbol is correct, this combination should be helpful. Péquart regards it as a 'confusion' of two distinct symbols, which of course it is, and he cites another instance. Perhaps 'fusion' would be a better word; I should explain it by supposing that both symbols were versions of images of the goddess and recognized as such by the artist. How then did it come about that there were two different versions of the same thing?

I shall not attempt to explain every detail of the 'cephalopod', but I would call attention to one feature which recurs in every case—the indentation at the top. This to my eye closely resembles the nose of the SOM chalk figures (Fig. 27 d), such as that at Coizard.³ The general outline is closely similar; the curved lines below on the Pierres Plates version (especially the three on Stone 1) represent the necklaces, shown by a single line at Coizard. Only the U's and the pair of circles at the bottom remain unaccounted for. May not this 'cephalopod' version of the goddess's image have come with the axe-symbols and other things from the SOM region?

There is another argument for such a derivation. Of the four monuments concerned, three are in plan bent Passage Graves; there is a slight expansion of the passage as it approaches the inner, or 'chamber' end, but nothing that could be called a separate chamber. The bend may have had a purely functional origin; in a tomb at La Belleville (Seine et Marne)⁴ the rectangular chamber is reached by a descending flight of steps at right angles thereto; at the bottom of the steps is the chamber-entrance flanked by two upright slabs. The passage at Pierres Plates is still partly covered by a long mound. These tombs are in fact magnified above-ground versions of the SOM long cists; and I suspect that the angular turn marked the division into two parts which in the SOM cists is marked by a port-hole slab. In Brittany such slabs may even once have stood at the point of turning, though none survive except perhaps for a single one at Rocher.⁵ In the only two monuments well enough preserved for measurements the bend or turn is the narrowest point of the passage, as would be desirable if it was intended to put there port-hole slabs of a convenient size. Such slabs do occur in Brittany; there are two pairs in the long barrow at Kerlescant,⁶ and what may (I think) be the half of one was found 'at the entrance of the mound' of the Table des Marchands.⁷

An alternative, and in many ways preferable, theory first suggested by Octobon would derive the 'cephalopod' from Iberian steles such as that from Moncorvo, Trás-os-Montes, Portugal (Pl. 23 b). This badly weathered example, if it stood alone, might

² Péquart, 1927, Pl. 15 (now in Carnac Museum).

³ *Ant.*, IX, 1935, Pl. opp. p. 120.

⁴ Bailloud, 1955, 194 (references), Pl. LXXXIII, 3 (plan).

F

⁵ Péquart, 1927, Pl. opp. p. 268 (plan).

⁶ Kendrick, 1925, 27, Fig. 5.

⁷ Carnac Museum Catalogue, 212, No. 100.

not be recognized as a human face; but a much better preserved one from Asquera (Pl. 24) in the Granada Museum is quite convincing, with eyes and nose complete.

Rayed circles occur in five of the Breton megaliths: the Table des Marchands, Mané Lud, Tachen Paul, Manio, Petit Mont.⁸ At the Table des Marchands the symbol is placed centrally between the rows of curved lines. On the stone at Tachen Paul Péquart records one symbol only in the text, but shows a round depression (on his Pl. 19) symmetrically placed to the right of the other. His tracing shows no rays round the depression, and one must assume that he could not see any on the stone; I imagine that I can see distinct rays there on the photograph, but it is easy to imagine such things. The matter deserves investigation because if there really *are* rays round both marks, then they must surely stand for a pair of eyes. Rayed circles are by no means always sun-discs; more often they represent eyes, as on the bones of Almizaraque and on the Portuguese plaques (Figs. 16 and 19). The two rayed circles at Toninuêlo (Fig. 19 g) are exactly like some of the Breton ones, and the carving of a pair of them side by side is conclusive. The bone plaques of Castelluccio also show eyes in the same style. In Crete, where some rayed circles do certainly represent the sun, others very like them are sea-urchins. On the Kličevac figurine (Fig. 18 b) the breasts are represented by similar circles with spikes round the circumference, and the mouth by a precisely similar sign. If we except Tachen Paul, which needs confirmation, there is nothing to show what these Breton rayed circles do stand for, since they occur in isolation, with no context that can give a clue to their significance. They may represent the sun or something else. Even if they do represent the sun, that would merely show that it was in some way revered by the makers; Péquart is careful to state (p. 60) it would not prove a cult of the sun. The distinction is subtle but important, and it is made also by Nilsson who concludes that 'in the Minoan world, there are consequently no certain traces of a cult of the Heavenly bodies', even though they are represented in religious scenes.⁹

The two rayed circles at Petit Mont are¹⁰ much bigger than the others and differ also in having a circle round the ends of the rays. They resemble the rayed circle on a Halafian (5th millennium) vase¹¹ beside which stands a man (presumably a worshipper) with uplifted hands. This must surely be a cult-symbol of some kind, not (as has been suggested, though not by Childe) the wheel of a vehicle.

The word 'baetyl' is used to describe certain shaped stones of cylindrical form, usually with a round top, that have been found associated with megalithic tombs. Many baetyls have been found in Brittany, but the task of one who seeks precise information about them is difficult. The information, such as it is, is scattered in a host of obscure and ancient publications or (worse) in privately printed pamphlets which are only available in local French libraries. Often one finds at the end of a long search that essential information was left unrecorded, or recorded only in vague terms, unaccom-

⁸ Péquart, 1927. Pls. 19, 39, 40, 45, 73, 80, 81. The Manio example is not illustrated and is regarded as doubtful by Péquart. It is now covered up and invisible.

⁹ 1950, 413, 420.

¹⁰ Or were. During the 1939-45 war the monument was turned into a strong-point and more or less obliterated, but there are excellent casts in the Carnac Museum.

¹¹ Childe, 1950 (b), Pl. XIX.

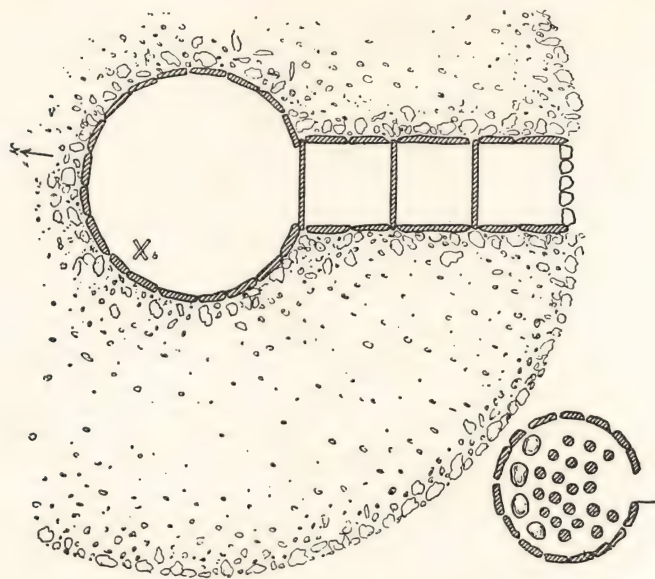


FIG. 28. Los Millares: tholos tomb 68 with round baetyl-enclosure outside.

panied by any plan worthy of the name. Consequently, all that can be said at present is that baetyls were placed in or near the tombs during the period of their construction, and that they continued to be made right on into the Iron Age. In the Pen Marc'h museum is a reconstruction of a grave from the La Tène cemetery of Roz-an-tre-men with pots and a slender cylindrical baetyl standing in it;¹² and on the ground outside the museum are many much larger shaped stones that seem to be manifestations of the same cult. The Carnac Museum Catalogue records (p. 212) a granite baetyl found at the foot of a 'menhir indicatif' (whatever that may mean) of a burial mound at Manio, and on the next page an unspecified number of baetyls 'from dolmens in the Carnac region'. To the same class may belong '6 petits menhirs fétiche ou idoles en granite' from Tumulus 2 at Manio. Item number 1520 consists of baetyls found between the support-stones of the megalithic tomb of Pierres Plates.

Baetyls just like the Breton ones are found in Almeria, where they are very common and of several different types. They were set up in groups in little round or rectangular enclosures just outside the tholoi, on its east (north-east or south-east) side, sometimes on a slight natural hillock. One of the best preserved examples (Fig. 28) is at Los Millares.¹³ Here the enclosure almost touches the covering-cairn of the tholos; it consists of a circle of fifteen upright slabs 2 metres in diameter, with an entrance gap oriented, like that of the tholos passage, 10° N. of East. Within stand nineteen baetyls, one of which was painted red, and four large lumps of flint (Kiesel) placed round the western part of the circle just inside it. In the tholos were the remains of six skeletons; the sides of the interior were plastered, and at the foot, where it still survives, the plaster

¹² *Ant.*, XI, 1937, 355, Pl. 9.

¹³ No. 68: Leisner, 1943, 41, Pl. XVIII, 5.

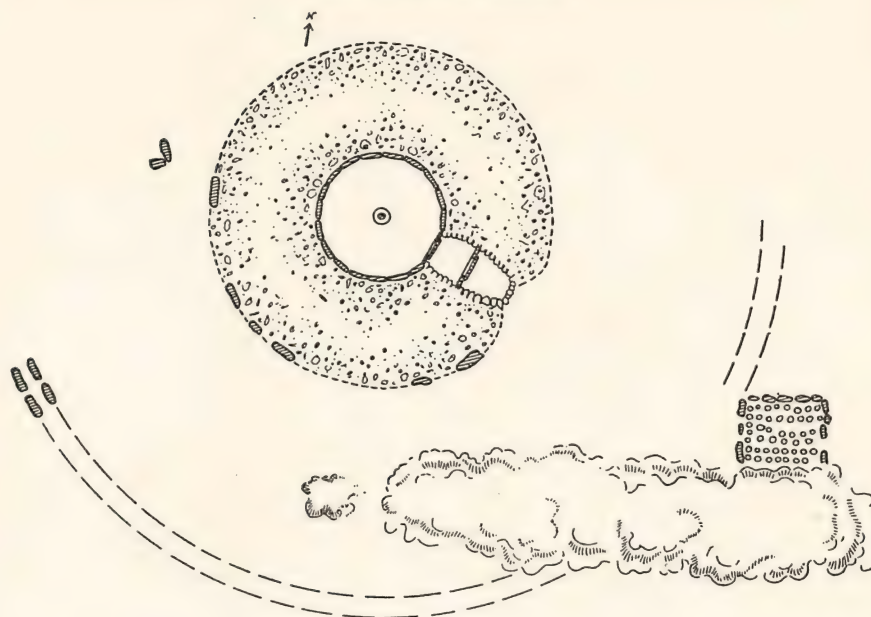


FIG. 29. Los Millares: tholos tomb 16, with rectangular baetyl-enclosure on periphery.

was painted red. This use of red paint¹⁴ is an important feature, for it is associated with the cult of the dead over a large part of the prehistoric world, from the Old Stone Age onwards.

There is a well-preserved baetyl enclosure (Fig. 29) outside another tholos at Millares.¹⁵ This one is rectangular, 3 m. by 2.50 m., having upright slabs on three sides and an outcrop of rock on the fourth. Inside are five or six rows of forty-five baetyls altogether. It is placed opposite the tholos passage, and if the imperfect peristalith of the cairn was circular, the enclosure would have stood close up against it on the outside. Inside the tholos were twenty-seven skeletons, and the grave-goods included four flint sickles, a bone phalange idol, and another of alabaster with two breast-knobs, a carinated pot ornamented with horizontal eye-lines ending in V's (see p. 61), and twelve others unornamented. In the inner segment of the passage was a skeleton with a pot.

Besides these there were six other instances of baetyl enclosures. At Los Millares¹⁶ were the remains of an enclosure with four baetyls. In the tholos were thirty skeletons, and in the side-chamber of the passage were two skulls and a phalange, and twenty-five stone beads. The foot of the tholos wall was painted red and the grave-goods included a flat copper axe with slightly expanded edge, a pot with two breast-knobs, and the famous pot, now in the Ashmolean, which is ornamented with two rayed eyes and three stags. Los Millares No. 23¹⁷ had the remains of a rectangular enclosure with six baetyls.

¹⁴ Or, more accurately, 'colouring matter'; I am not here concerned with the details of it, and use the word 'paint' to cover any kind of colouring. On this subject see Leisner in *Ipek*, IX, 1934, 40.

¹⁵ No. 16: Leisner, 1943, 31, Pl. 14, 1.

¹⁶ No. 15: Leisner, 1943, 43, Pl. 20, 1.

¹⁷ Leisner, 1943, 48, Pl. 22, 4.

The tholos walls and those of the side-chamber were plastered and painted red; inside the tholos were twenty skeletons and in the side-chamber five, with two pots, animal bones and beads. Amongst the grave-goods was a small copper axe and some shells.¹⁸ At Cabaceto de Aguilar¹⁹ were more than three small baetyls, and the tholos yielded a phalange idol, the handle of a copper awl and a sherd with dotted incised band. There were forty-two baetyls at Llano Manzano²⁰ in an unusual but imperfect enclosure of rectangular form with angles and a sort of apse, within which was a much-ruined round grave lined with dry-stone walling and two metres in diameter. It contained the remains of skeletons, the point of a copper dagger and a small copper ring. At Loma de los Liniales²¹ were twelve baetyls, and the round grave outside which they stood contained a burnt layer 0.75 cm. thick.

It is clear from these Almerian examples that baetyls were in some way closely associated with a cult of the dead. Leisner states that no correspondence could be detected between the number of baetyls and that of the interments in the adjacent burial mound. The position of the baetyl enclosure near the edge of the mound, and once on the presumed line of the peristalith, suggests a comparison with the mysterious ditched mounds on the circumference of Stonehenge. One might hazard a guess that baetyls were set up as memorials of the dead and that rites for the benefit of the dead were performed at them.

Baetyls or stone pillars, sometimes much bigger than these western ones, formed a regular item in the cults of the East Mediterranean. At Gezer ten monoliths, from 5 to 11 feet in height, were found in the 'Canaanite high place', dated about 2000 B.C. and associated with the cult of Ashtoreth (Ishtar) whose plaques were found there.²² A Roman coin shows a conical stone standing in the place of the cult image in the temple of Byblos.²³ Jacob set up a pillar at Bethel (Luz) in the land of Canaan, 'and poured a drink offering thereon and he poured oil thereon'.²⁴ In the same context are mentioned what must have been idols of 'strange gods' and earrings, all of which Jacob buried under an oak.

In the Minoan-Mycenaean religion sacred columns had a place, and even Nilsson allows that they may have a claim to be called 'embodiments of a god' or 'real cult-objects'. As he points out:²⁵ 'Baetyls, sacred stones, columns and cairns being so frequent in later Greek and Semitic cults and in other parts of the world, it would certainly be astonishing to find them absent in Minoan and Mycenaean Greece. The big stalagmite in the cave of Eileithyia which is enclosed by a stone setting and has in front of it a stone which may have been an altar was certainly the object of a cult, as Mr Marinatos justly assumes.²⁶ He calls attention to the many stalagmites in Cretan caves and to the beliefs which are attached to them even today.'

These are, of course, natural objects. Something very like our Almerian baetyls is

¹⁸ 5 Cyprea, 1 Conus Mediterraneus, 1 pectunculus.

¹⁹ Leisner, 1943, 60, Pls 29, 2: 112 (photo): 148, 3 (phalange idol).

²⁰ No. 4: Leisner, 1943, 58, Pl. 28.

²¹ No. 9: Leisner, 1943, 75, Pl. 30, 1.

²² Contenau, 1927, Fig. 134, p. 219.

²³ Contenau, 1927, Fig. 118, p. 196.

²⁴ Genesis, XXXV, 14.

²⁵ 1950, 258.

²⁶ *Praktika*, 1939, 100 (in Greek); *Mitteil. über Höhlen- und Karts-forschung*, 1928, fasc. 4.

shown on a gold ring from Mycenae²⁷ (Fig. 30). On the right is seen a shrine in an opening of which stands a round-topped pillar that clearly serves no functional purpose. On the left is a somewhat similar structure, also containing a baetyl. On a ring from Cnossos a small column with a broad capital stands in a similar opening. The figures and their peculiar attitudes show that these are cult scenes. I would hazard a guess that the structures are roadside shrines or tombs, depicted as seen sideways from the road,



FIG. 30. Baetyl in shrine, on a gold ring from Mycenae.

which seems to be indicated by marks for paving blocks and cobbles. The so-called 'High Priest's House' at Cnossos with its altars is plainly just such a shrine, despite its pretentious name; it is built into the steep hillside and stands on the southern highway from the Palace.

Querns are of course the stones on which corn was ground into flour, and the type during our period, and for long afterwards, was the saddle-quern.²⁸ What we now have is usually the bigger (lower) half of the instrument, the other consisting of a rubber-stone which was much smaller. Though primarily utilitarian, there is good evidence that querns also had a place in the oriental fertility cult. Perhaps querns found in tombs are best to be explained as intended for the use of the dead persons in another world. I include them in this survey only because a quern is mentioned in the Ras Shamra epic where Anat is described as grinding Mot in a quern before sowing him on the fields. That suggests the use of querns in some ritual scene forming part of the cult.

There are many querns in the Carnac Museum; the catalogue²⁹ records them from the 'dolmens' of Noterio and Kerham, the 'allée couverte' of Poulguen-en-Penmarc'h, the 'tumulus' of Crucuny and from Er Lannic, a 'sacred' site. There are also two omnibus items covering an unspecified number of 'querns from dolmens'. All are of granite, the local rock. There is a saddle-quern lying beside the burial-chamber in the walled enclosure of Le Lizo near Trinité-sur-Mer. It is most unlikely that their presence in the tombs is accidental; there are far too many instances. In Jersey one was found buried upside down and broken in half at the foot of one of the supports of the Passage Grave of Hougue Bie. Outside the Jersey Museum there are thirteen querns, three having come from the Hougue Mauger.³⁰ A saddle-quern was found forming part of

²⁷ Nilsson, 1950, Fig. 124, p. 256.

²⁸ For querns in general see Curwen, 1937; for those of Mayen lava, Röder, 1955.

²⁹ pp. 46, 47, 74, 79, 94, 132, 150.

³⁰ For this and others see *Bull. Soc. Jersiaise*, 1934, 353, 356; Jacquetta Hawkes, 1939, 258, 294. I owe this information and these references to Major Rybot.

the floor of an entrance-grave on Samson, one of the Scilly Isles, by Dr H. O'N. Hencken.³¹ This last find may, of course, be of no significance—an old worn-out specimen put to a new use when the tomb was being built; or it may have been chosen because it had ritual or cult associations.

There is evidence that suggests, but does not prove, that grinding scenes may have formed part of the ritual of the dead in Cyprus at the end of the 3rd millennium. In the Cyprus Museum at Nicosia there is the top of a jug from a grave in the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Vounous near Kyrenia; on its shoulders are modelled four figures grinding on querns. From the same cemetery came a clay model of oxen ploughing, and a model of a scene in a ritual enclosure where it seems that bulls were to be sacrificed. In this model are three human figures with bulls' heads, holding hands. There is an 'important person' (certainly, I imagine, the deity) seated on a throne, a figure in an attitude of prayer, and another carrying an infant.³² Some of these representations may of course be merely the equivalent of those models of daily life which were placed in Egyptian tombs. But the last—the ritual scene—can hardly be thus interpreted, and I feel sure that Dikaios' interpretation is the correct one; and if so, the case for the rest is strengthened. We see in them many of the features that were prominent in the Ras Shamra epic—the quern-grinding, the sowing (ploughs), the bulls and horned figures, the seated figure. Dikaios concludes that 'we have here an important representation of a ritual in honour of the dead (the model was found in a tomb) but also in honour of the associated god of fertility, whose attribute is the bull. The sacred character of the ritual is strengthened by the kneeling figure with arms outstretched as in prayer, and by the general attitude of the participants.' If then this conclusion is correct it indicates that at the end of the 3rd millennium in Cyprus fertility rites formed part of the ritual of the dead. That is a very important conclusion if (as I think) it can be regarded as established.

We have seen that in the Iberian tombs were features that seemed to have an East Mediterranean origin—the plaques, the baetyls, the crozier, the Eye Goddess—and that these features were found also in Brittany. It is reasonable, I submit, to infer that the cults of the West had, to say the least, much in common with those of the East, and that like them they were primarily concerned with fertility.

Strength would be added to this hypothetical community of cult if we could also produce evidence of the sacrifice of bulls at funeral rites in the south-west.³³ Unfortunately the earlier excavators paid scant attention to animal remains and recorded them (if at all) in the most vague terms. Siret often mentions them but only rarely states to what species they belonged. Bones of cattle were found in Tomb 1 at Alcalá, and horns of ox or bull in Romeral.³⁴ Similar horns have been found in some of the Breton tombs, and a hunt through the literature might reveal valuable evidence. In the Carnac Museum Catalogue is an item of teeth and bone of a ruminant (ossement de ruminant: 2202) which, by itself, tells us little.

³¹ *Ant. J.*, XIII, 1933, 13.

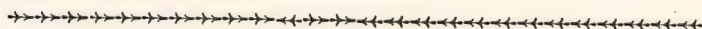
³² P. Dikaios in the Cyprus Museum Guide (2nd edn. 1953), 17, 20, 21; Pls IV, 2 and V, 3, 4.

³³ For Welsh and Irish evidence see p. 99; and for a modern survival in Portugal p. 141.

³⁴ Leisner, 1943, 556.

CHAPTER VIII

IRELAND



FROM IBERIA THE FACES crossed the Atlantic to Ireland, where they are found carved on the tombs of the Boyne group called Passage Graves. They were not, it seems, the first southerners to get there. The evidence for earlier arrivals comes almost exclusively from carvings called petroglyphs on natural rock surfaces. More than a generation ago Breuil pointed out that the Irish petroglyphs had 'an extraordinary resemblance to those of Galicia in North Spain, and even to those of the Canary Islands'.¹ The system of classification then proposed was elaborated in his presidential address to the Prehistoric Society in 1934; but while the sequence of technique he observed on the Boyne Passage Graves was correct, the chronological scheme proposed was, as Powell has pointed out,² 'based in part on a faulty sequence of tomb-types', and it has met with little support and much scepticism. Nevertheless the theory of an Iberian origin was quite well founded, and it has been followed up by MacWhite³ who pointed out ten years ago that the petroglyphs were not derived from the Passage Grave art of the Boyne tombs. In the absence of a Corpus of Irish material he prudently refrained from precise chronological conclusions, but assigned both groups to the Bronze Age. The dating of petroglyphs can rarely be exact, and dating by style is always risky.

What I have called here 'petroglyphs' corresponds roughly with MacWhite's Galician group, and the motives differ considerably from those of the Boyne art. Compare for instance MacWhite's Fig. 1 (Galician group) with his Fig. 5 or Piggott's Fig. 33. The former consists largely of cup-marks, of concentric circles, and of a rectangular network of lines. But the Galician group also includes a few examples of highly conventionalized human figures of the matchstick type. Breuil illustrates examples from Ireland, the best of which are on a stone at Cloonfinlough (his Fig. 1 c), and from the chambered long barrow near Brecon called Ty Illtyd.⁴ The last occurrence gives a valuable clue to the age of the Galician group; even if Ty Illtyd should be a late example of the Severn-Cotswolds group of long barrows it must surely be earlier than any monument of the Boyne group. It would follow that the Galician art must have been brought to these islands by an earlier wave.

¹ Breuil and Macalister, 1921, 7 (separate pagination).

² 1938; quoted by Piggott, 1954, 210; see also Crawford, 1956.

³ 1946.

⁴ Breuil, 1934, Fig. 1 g, probably after photograph in Crawford, 1925, between pp. 64 and 65. I have already (1956) admitted my agreement with Breuil's view, that they are prehistoric, not Christian, as I thought.

There is, typologically at any rate, a considerable overlap between the art-repertoires of the Galician and Boyne groups; but while many of the simpler designs of the Galician style occur also in the Boyne monuments, those which are most typical of the Boyne group do not occur in Galician assemblages. That is another argument in favour of the priority of the Galician group, which might on these grounds be assigned to the first part of the 2nd millennium. But here we must tread carefully; the two styles occupy different areas both in Ireland and in Spain. In Ireland the Galician group is chiefly found in the south-west and on the coast and came (by hypothesis) from north-west Spain, whereas the Boyne group is found only in the north-east and north centre and came (also by hypothesis) from Southern Spain.⁵ This geographical difference should warn us not to press the chronological argument too hard. There was probably an interval between the two waves from the south, but it may not have been a very long one, speaking archaeologically.

In Galicia some of the signs are certainly conventionalized human figures, while others such as cup-marks are susceptible of different interpretations—and have suffered them in full measure! Cup-marks have a wide range, both in time and space; they occur in the Natufian period of Palestine and in the neolithic of the Sudan; but though certainly of some cult significance they are too simple and too widely diffused to be used alone as evidence of migrations. The 'matchstick' human figures are also rather a slender clue. The art of the Galician group seems to me to be one manifestation of a widely diffused neolithic culture whose roots may go back earlier still. I am tempted to associate it with those petroglyphs of the Sudanese hunters and pastors, and with designs on predynastic Egyptian pots; here are seen figures with arms raised or akimbo, drawn in a more naturalistic (but still conventional) style than the Greek-phi figures of Galicia which may have developed from them. Compare, for instance, the row of linked figures at Es Sihan on the Nile near Abu Hamed with the three unlinked ones from Aldequemada and Graja in Spain and the Greek-phi figures at Clonfinlough in the middle of Ireland.⁶

The designs of this Galician group concern us here only because it is necessary to distinguish them from those peculiar to the Passage Grave art which came later. The former certainly belong to some very early and primitive stratum which owes little or nothing to a higher (civilized?) culture. The Faces, on the other hand, began (as I think) in a higher and civilized culture, and gradually disintegrated in their passage westwards and northwards. We have seen some examples of this disintegration in Brittany, in a culture that was less advanced than that further south. The same thing happened in Ireland.

Whatever may have been the exact relationship between the Galician and Passage Grave styles, it is certain that megalith builders who were also agriculturalists were already in Ireland when the Passage Grave people arrived, bringing the Faces. These earlier arrivals were responsible for the Clyde-Carlingford megalithic tombs in the north of the island, 'in which an intrusive pottery of Franco-Iberian origin accompanies

⁵ See distribution maps in MacWhite, 1946, and Piggott, 1954.

⁶ Crawford, 1953, Pl. III a; Breuil, 1935, III,

Fig. 17; IV, Fig. 1; 1934, 291 and Fig. 1 c, referring to *Journ. Kilkeny Arch. Soc.*, NS. V. 354.

the first appearance in Scotland of collective chambered tombs with a probably similar place of origin',⁷ and, I would add, a probably similar kind of religion.

The Boyne group of tombs consists⁸ of 'Passage Graves of classic form, obvious members of the Western European family of collective tombs that includes Los Millares, Alcalá, Île Longue and La Hougue Bie, and represented in Ireland by such internationally famous monuments as New Grange. The tombs number over 130, mainly grouped in four main cemeteries, but with a wide scatter of isolated examples in southern and north-eastern Ireland and at least two in Wales.' The tomb consists of a round or oval cairn, often very big, bounded by a circle of kerbstones (and occasionally having an outer circle of free-standing stones), covering a burial chamber or chambers approached by a long passage. There are four great cemeteries: (1) New Grange, called in Erse *Brugh na Boinne*, of which the chief cairns are those of Knowth, New Grange and Dowth; (2) Lough Crew (*Sliabh na Cailleach*) in Meath, west of Kells; (3) Carrowkeel; and (4) Carrowmore. A fifth one, smaller, has recently been found and partly excavated at Fourknocks near Drogheda, but at the time of writing it was still unpublished. To these may probably be added Seskilgreen near Ballygawley in Co. Tyrone (Northern Ireland) where several overgrown or dilapidated monuments have been recorded, one of them famous for its carvings.⁹ There are also some isolated cairns, sometimes on mountain tops. At Carrowkeel there were no carvings, and at Carrowmore only a few 'slight traces of patterns'. At Lough Crew many of the chambers are now (1956) so overgrown and lichen-covered that they cannot be examined; at Knowth access and examination is also impossible; we have to depend on drawings (not even photographs). My account is based partly upon personal examination, carried out in the summer of 1955, of those parts of the Lough Crew cemetery which can be seen, and of the other monuments of the Boyne cemetery, chiefly New Grange and Dowth. I also visited Seskilgreen and Knockmany, and the recently excavated Passage Grave at Fourknocks. It does not of course pretend to be a complete account of the art but merely a study of some of the designs related to the general thesis of this book.

Breuil regards the circular designs as representing human faces and I agree. Déchelette (1912) had already interpreted them in the same sense. Breuil is certainly right, even if he sometimes appears to see faces where others cannot; the resemblance to a face is often not at all obvious, needing a wide range of knowledge of similar designs elsewhere. We have to deal with an evolutionary process by which a recognizable human face with a pair of eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, a nose, and mouth, a fringe of hair and side-tresses, with perhaps a necklace and breasts below, disintegrated into a jumble of spirals, circles, multiple arcs, and zigzag and wavy lines; the process is hard to demonstrate because it occurred in the minds of the artists, subjectively, and many of the objective links are missing. It is closely analogous to the study of anatomical evolution, as revealed by fossilized bones; and here too the crucial links are often missing or

⁷ Piggott, 1954, 222.

⁸ See Piggott, 1954, Ch. 7, from which the passages quoted are taken, by permission.

⁹ Breuil, 1934, Fig. 15. The carvings have weathered so much since Coffey's original drawing

was made that now they can hardly be seen. The lower part of the stone is buried in the ground so that the carvings on that part, though not now visible, may be better preserved. The stone should long ago have been removed and placed under cover.

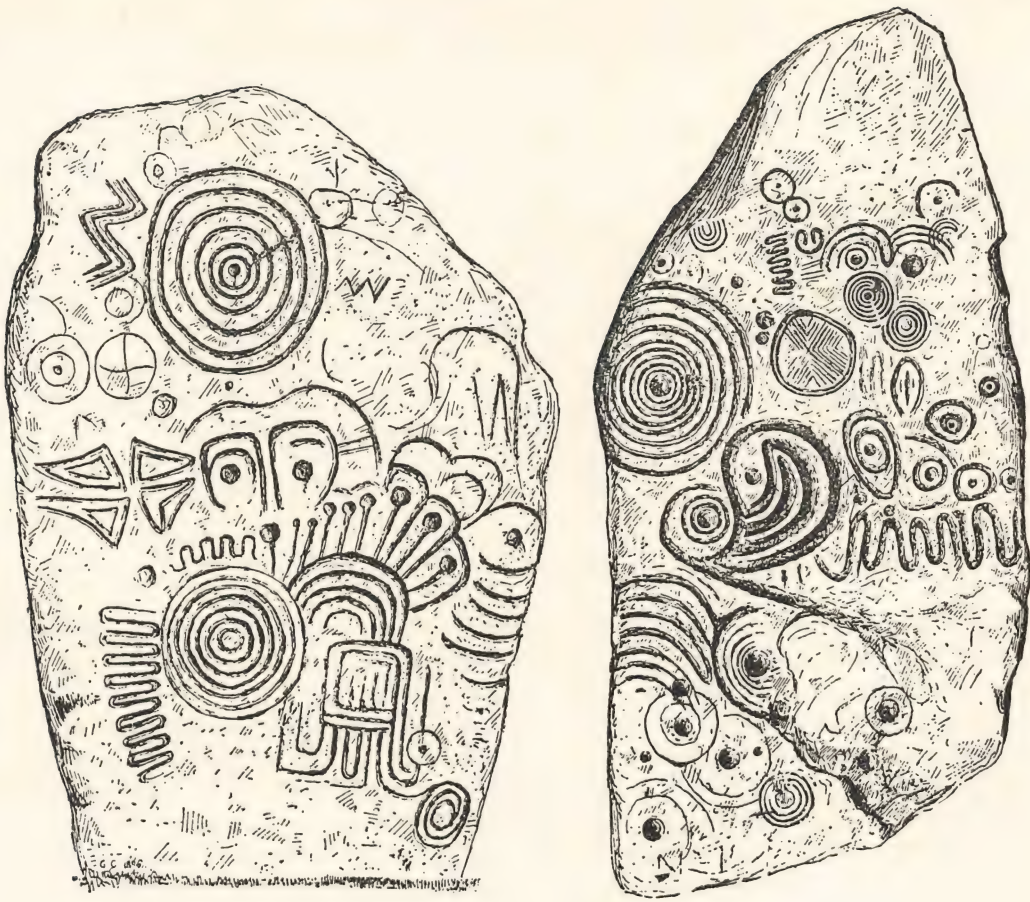


FIG. 31. Knockmany, Co. Tyrone, carved with owl-face.

rare. Short of complete demonstration, which in fact is not practicable, one can only rely upon one's own observations and those of others with more experience; and no one has ever seen so many of these pictures as the Abbé Breuil. Scepticism, if not based upon experience, is better withheld; conversely, when two observers (or more) agree the strength of their case is more than doubled.

Mindful of these considerations I set out for Ireland in July 1955, partly to study Passage Grave art at first hand, and take photographs of some good examples, but also if possible to get a photograph of a really good Face—'something whose truth convinced at sight we find'. But in this I was unsuccessful; such Faces I am sure exist, but in Ireland the most obvious ones did not appear, for one reason or another. There are two on the side-stones of a Passage Grave at Knockmany near Ballygawley (Fig. 31); the one in the middle of the left-hand stone has two round holes for eyes, two grooves for the nose, and various lines for the eyebrows and perhaps the head. The Face near the top of the right-hand stone has similar eyes and three eyebrow lines meeting and

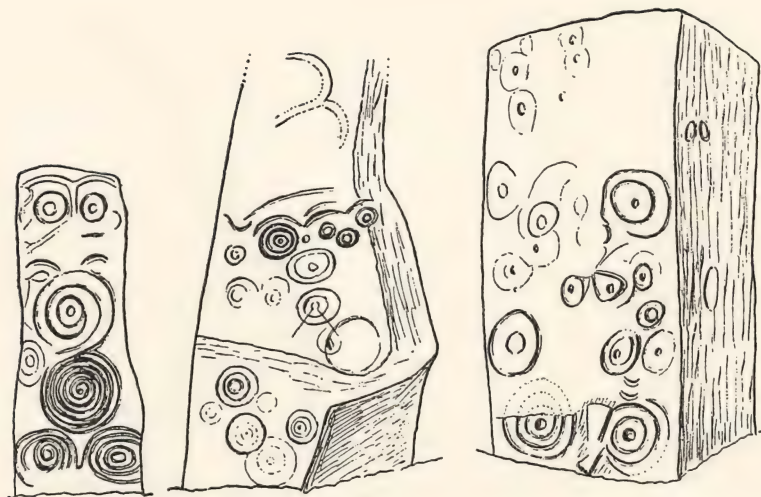


FIG. 32. King's Mountain, Co. Meath, carved with owl-face and spirals.

forming the bridge of the nose.¹⁰ Being unable, for the reasons given below, to get near and feel the design I must rely upon the observations of others, who assure me that the faces are genuine faces and correctly shown in the figure.

An even more convincing Face appears on a standing stone, which thereby qualifies as a statue-menhir, on King's Mountain, Co. Meath.¹¹ I could not visit this unfortunately. Breuil's drawing (Fig. 32) shows a very plain pair of eyes with eyebrows and a nose; below is the hint of another eye and two eyebrows above a group of spirals.

But if Faces with properly arranged features are rare, roving eyes are abundant on all the carved stones. To my mind the most convincing eye-signs are those at Dowth, both inside the chamber and on the kerbstones. On one of the latter on the east side of the cairn is a row of four eyes, all done in the same picked technique (Pl. 25 a). The eye at the south end of the row (Plate 25 b) is 8 inches in diameter; the pupil is indicated by a picked disc; round it are two concentric circles, between which are fourteen spokes for the eyelashes. The pickmarks are individually distinguishable, and are about 3 mm. in diameter. To the left (south) of this eye is a small circle with lines radiating from its circumference, and there is another above it on the right. (These radii have no circumference.) Below the right-hand (northern) pair of eyes is what seems to be a fifth eye, and on its left some faint circular lines of a sixth. Above the first mentioned (south) eye is an inverted triangle formed of small holes that seem to have been drilled. (Is this

¹⁰ Breuil, 1934, 300, Fig. 13 (Fig. 31 here). The stones are covered with lichen and surrounded by an unclimbable iron railing; the gate is locked and there is no notice to say where the key is kept. The tomb stands on the top of a mountain, in a well-fenced State Forest; and the nearest likely place, Ballygawley, is at least three miles away. Protection from

vandalism is necessary, but it should not be such as to frustrate serious students if they choose to visit a rather inaccessible monument unheralded. It should not be necessary to write a letter to Belfast to find out where the key is kept.

¹¹ Breuil, 1934, 313, Fig. 37, No. 1 (Fig. 32 here); see also Coffey, *New Grange*, 1912, 78.

the pubic triangle to indicate sex?) The stone itself is 7 feet 6 inches long, and stands 3 feet 6 inches above the ground. Some vertical and horizontal grooves on the rounded edges look like ogams (and have been so described), but they are entirely natural, due to weathering.

These double circles with rays between their circumferences are, to my thinking, so obviously meant for eyes that comparisons seem hardly necessary to prove it. But convincing comparisons can be supplied. Identical signs are found on the Iberian pots and bones (e.g. Fig. 19 c and d), where there can be no doubt at all that eyes are intended, for they occur in pairs and have eyebrows. The cylindrical stone idols¹² tell the same way; the pairs of eyes are similarly shown. They are also shown by other conventions that are found at Lough Crew and elsewhere in Passage Grave art.

To return to Dowth:— Another kerbstone, on the south side of the cairn near the entrance, has at its west end three concentric circles without rays or central disc; above it is a lozenge and to the right a confused tangle of loops. Further to the right are two more lozenges and many indeterminate marks.

The stones of the chambers inside the cairn are covered with designs, many of them similar to those outside it. Some of the most interesting are on the stone on the left of the end-chamber, facing you as you go in (Pl. 26). On the right margin of the stone is a vertical row of circular signs rather like those on the kerbstones. (They were probably made when the stone lay flat on the ground and may therefore have been conceived as a horizontal row, but the point is not of much importance.) At the top is a lozenge with a central mark, then two concentric circles with picked disc centres, and then two more with a cross in the inner circle. The two lowest are a pair consisting of a picked disc and circumference with thin scratched radii, made *before* the picked disc and circumference, which obliterate their ends. But, as I have shown elsewhere,¹³ there is no reason to infer from this that the two techniques were separated by any long interval of time, and they may both have been employed by the same artist.

To the left of the interval between the two uppermost circles is a small circle with lines radiating outwards from the circumference, differing only from the one above the kerbstone eye-signs in having the centre plain and not picked. Above it on the left is a smooth round natural hole round which the artist has scratched a few circumferential lines and begun to make a picked groove. Lastly, along the top are some picked and scratched lines forming a confused pattern in which at least one lozenge can be seen; the rest seems to consist of zigzag lines. Some of the holes seem to have been drilled.

Essentially these designs as a whole seem to correspond with those on the kerbstone, for they consist of a row of eye-circles with an outlying rayed circle and lozenges and triangles or zigzag lines. The fact that the lozenge on the inside stone has a central mark suggests that it too may have been a variant eye-sign, perhaps transmitted by another line of tradition; lozenge eyes of this type occur on Sicilian and other southern pots (Pl. 14 and Fig. 6 a). That would be in keeping with the theory that all these designs were inspired by a dim confused tradition having a multiple ancestry in the south and south-east. We need not even suppose that the artist himself understood their meaning,

¹² See for instance Leisner, 1943, Pl. 95.

¹³ Crawford, 1956.

any more than the Naga artist did; he was just conforming to the needs of his society which required that the carvings on tombstones should consist of certain signs sanctified by magic and long usage—and the more the better.

In the small Passage Grave at Fourknocks several of the stones, some of them lintels over side-chambers, are covered with carvings. The commonest are broad parallel picked zigzag lines; incised triangles, however, also occur, and on one stone are bands of chevrons. The most striking object is a long stone near the entrance of the central area on which are several concentric picked circles like those inside at Dowth. Though they have no pupils they must surely be eyes, and put there for a prophylactic or apotropaic purpose.

At Lough Crew we find an abundance of eye-circles on the stones of the Passage Graves. In Cairn L, the stone at the north end of one of the northern pair of chambers (Pl. 27) has in its middle a large concentric design; at the centre is a small hole; round it are two circles above which comes next a detached arc; then come seven more circles, the outer five incomplete and the outermost much broader than the rest. Attached to the right (east) side is a group of five concentric arcs round a similar central hole. Round the whole are set small circles, single and concentric. On the left is a wavy line and on the right a vertical row of six lozenges. All these designs are picked, but to the left of the lozenges along the top margin of the stone are two rows of three incised triangles filled with crossed lines, those in the top row being inverted. On their left, above the central design, is a lozenge shown by thin incised lines with two diagonal lines bisecting it. It should be observed that the central design differs only from the circles surrounding it and the others at Dowth in the multiplication of encircling lines; if those at Dowth stand for eyes then surely these must too. And note how here again we find the association of lozenges, triangles at the top, and a wavy (not zigzag) line. It is a combination that constantly recurs in Passage Grave art both in Ireland and in Iberia. I suggest that the component elements are ultimately derived from Mediterranean anthropomorphic conventions. The wavy line stands for the side-tresses; the triangles may sometimes stand for the fringe or spiky diadem; the zigzags may also be for the side-tresses (see Fig. 19 d), but when horizontal and multiplied they are more likely to be derived from those on the lower part of the Iberian plaques and bones, which themselves come (as I think) from the oriental flounced and patterned skirt. The lozenges and chevrons are probably also derived from the Iberian designs; the pattern of the chevrons at Fourknocks¹⁴ is identical with that on the plaque from Olival de Pega (Fig. 16 d), except that the former has triangles at the side; and the zigzags are just like those of No. c in the same illustration, which also has very Irish-looking eyes! But such comparisons must not be pressed too far; while the ancestral line seems to me to be well authenticated, the particular ancestors of individual components may be mixed.

The stylistic evidence points, then, to Iberia, and is corroborated by the actual discovery of plaques in Ireland and the other British islands. The best is a stone plaque from Antrim¹⁵ (Fig. 33 a) which, like the Fourknocks stone, has vertical dividing lines but instead of chevrons a chequer pattern between them. Another (Fig. 34), from the

¹⁴ Crawford, 1956, Pl. XIX a.

¹⁵ Kendrick, 1925, Fig. 15, and *UJA*, IV, 19.

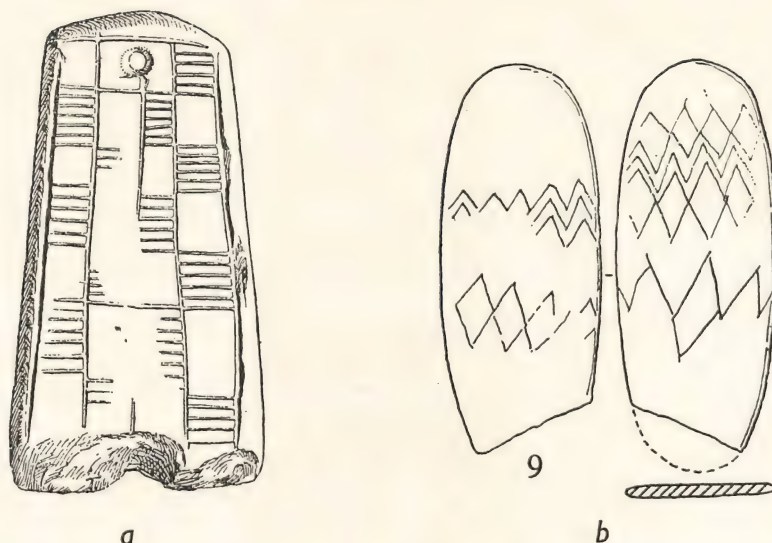


FIG. 33. Plaques: a. Antrim, Ireland; b. Ronaldsway, Isle of Man.

Bronze Age strata of Jarlshof in Shetland,¹⁶ is of bone and is decorated (on one side only) with horizontal rows of triangles (some inverted) and squares, and has vertical rows of triangles down each side, as at Fourknocks. At the foot is a panel of zigzags. Two other examples of stones thus decorated have been found, one at Ronaldsway in the Isle of Man¹⁷ (Fig. 33 b) on a neolithic site, and the other in the axe-factory site at Graig Llwyd in North Wales.¹⁸

There are enough signs on the stones at Lough Crew to provide the material for a corpus of Irish prehistoric art—or for a volume in a series of such. The nucleus exists already in the splendid photographs taken by Mr T. H. Mason of Dublin, which are available for all students and have been used in this book. My own few photographs are equally available. Only a few more of these Lough Crew signs can be described here.

On Stone A of Cairn S¹⁹ is a large eye-sign shown by the same conventions as those on the eastern kerbstones at Dowth, that is, two concentric circles with truncated rays between them. The Hag's Cairn (Cairn T on Frazer's plan) has a fine and well-preserved series. On the capstone of the western (i.e. end) chamber (Pl. 28) are concentric circles, some with gaps, circles with radial lines both inside and outside the circumference, a badly executed rosette sign, a five-pronged 'rake' without a handle, a short wavy line, and some multiple arcs. On Stone O (Pl. 29) at the west end of the same chamber are four much better rosettes with six, eight, and nine 'petals', each within a circle; the 'petals' start from a small circle round a central hole. There is also a four-petalled

¹⁶ *PSAS*, LXXII, 1938, 362, Fig. 12; Hamilton, 1956, 16, Fig. 8 (1). The plaque was found in Midden II attributed to the Bronze Age, as also was a pebble ornamented with eyes and eyebrows (Pl. xv, p. 64).

¹⁷ *PPS*, XIII, 1947, 161–9 (not illustrated: Fig. 33 b here is from Piggott, 1954, Fig. 61).

¹⁸ *JRAI*, LI, 1921, Fig. 21; Breuil, 1934, Fig. 32; Piggott, 1954, Fig. 46 (7).

¹⁹ Frazer, 1893, Fig. 39.

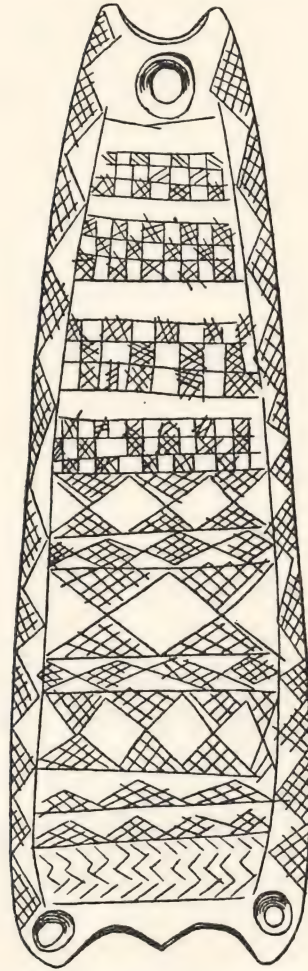


FIG. 34. Plaque from Jarlshof, Shetland.

rosette with no enclosing circle and what look like clumsy attempts at others. There are also four short zigzags and several small circles with external rays, enclosed 'fir-tree' signs, and a few others.

The rosettes may be variant eye-signs, for some are identical with undoubted eye-signs on Iberian idols; see for instance the Madrid cylinder (of unknown provenance) illustrated here (after Leisner) in Fig. 19 d. The circles with external rays may also be eye-signs, for that convention also is used in Spain for eyes (see Fig. 19, c, e, g). The fir-tree sign may be derived from stags' antlers (see Fig. 19 e). The small triangles are also commonly found in Iberia in association with other designs; see for instance those of Los Millares 21, which are formed of dots like those on the eastern kerbstones at Dowth.²⁰

²⁰ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 96, No. 7.

The concentric circles and arcs in the north side-chamber of Cairn L at Lough Crew (Pl. 27) were interpreted as eye-signs, surrounded by others and with the usual association of lozenges, triangles, and a wavy line. A very similar group of associated signs is to be seen on the capstone of the north chamber at New Grange (Pl. 30). The central design consists of a large spiral (instead of concentric circles) to which is attached a group of four concentric ovals; in the middle are two D-shaped 'residual' discs, one reversed, with a small 'eye-hole' in the middle of each; between the discs runs a 'nose-ridge'. Immediately below the nose are two small holes which may represent nostrils or mouth; the same convention is used on the carved stone head from a tomb at Zebbug in Malta.²¹ The resemblance of these ovals to a face has been observed before and so has its resemblance to a design on one of the chalk drums of Folkton Wold in Yorkshire.²² Another very close parallel is on one of the Almizaraque bones which differs from the Folkton Wold design only in having a third (central) eye (Fig. 19 b).²³ The New Grange design, like the one at Lough Crew, is surrounded by circles, zigzag and wavy lines and lozenges, but none of the circles have 'eye-holes'.²⁴

Piggott points out that only in Iberia are these disintegrated Irish designs found 'combined in one coherent pattern', and earlier students of the art have said much the same. My explanation of particular points of resemblance is therefore in accordance with orthodox views in general.

On the north side of the New Grange cairn one of the kerbstones is ornamented with a pair of huge spirals between and above which is a single lozenge and below a double one; and there is another double lozenge just outside the right-hand spiral. Between the last and the lower lozenge are traces of an obliterated spiral, and further to the right faint traces of another and some angular marks. Below and to the left of the central design is a group of lozenges and triangles. The resemblance, almost amounting to identity, of the central design to one on a fragmentary potsherd from Skara Brae in Orkney has already been noticed by others; so intricate a pattern can never have been invented independently, and its occurrence at Skara Brae shows that there must have been some overlap at least between Passage Grave art and the Rinyo-Clacton culture.²⁵ Much has been written about the origin and diffusion of the spiral, and attempts have been made to trace racial and cultural movements therefrom. But it is a fundamental error of method to isolate a single art-motive and use it for such purposes without taking into account also the other elements which make up a culture including of course other art-motives. In what might be called the Atlantic region, from the Canaries to Ireland, the spiral is nearly always found closely associated with concentric circles and arcs, and it may have originated from them in more than one region. But if a southern origin and southern parallels are required I should quote the spirals which occur as petroglyphs in North Portugal and Galicia.²⁶

To sum up:— The various signs carved on these Irish Passage Graves may nearly

²¹ *PPS*, 1953, Pl. IX, No. 3 (Period I a 2).

²² Piggott and Daniel, 1951, Pl. 14; Piggott, 1954,

217.

²³ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 94.

²⁴ The double spiral at the Calderstones (Fig. 36 a) is comparable.

²⁵ Piggott, 1954, 329, Pl. XII and cover design.

²⁶ For Portugal see Serpa Pinto, 1929. There are petroglyphs of spirals associated with animal and other designs on a rock at Lanhelas, on the south (Portuguese) bank of the Minho estuary, five miles north of Caminha.

all be explained as the disintegrated elements of an anthropomorphic design which in Iberia are articulated into a coherent pattern. In Iberia the sex, when indicated, is invariably female; there are no certain indications of sex in the Irish tombs, unless some of the circles, here interpreted as eyes, were meant for breasts, which is possible. Elsewhere breasts and eyes are sometimes shown by the same symbol (see Fig. 18 b), so that after disintegration it would not be possible to distinguish them. There is no trace of anything suggestive of a male deity. The constant repetition of eye-signs in Ireland can be followed backwards to its origin in Iberia and thence to the tombs and plaques of Castelluccio in Sicily, which in turn can be traced to a Middle Helladic source on the shores of the Aegean.

It would be strange if in all the voluminous ancient literature and traditions of Ireland there survived no trace of the eye-cult or of a goddess of the dead. Macalister²⁷ quotes instances of legendary heroes with multiple eyes, and this peculiarity survived into the Christian period, for one of St Columba's colleagues, Baithin, possessed it. But I discount these legends which all relate to males, and are in no way connected with Passage Graves. Our goddess is more likely to survive in the name of the mountain ridge on which the Lough Crew tombs stand, Sliabh na Chailleach, the Ridge of the Hag. Cairn T is still called the Hag's Tomb and one of its kerbstones (decorated) the Hag's Chair. 'She is a being who permeates the modern folklore of Ireland, [and is] commonly known as An Chailleach Bheara, the Hag of Bere, that is, of a district bearing this name in the west of County Cork' (Macalister). Scattered boulders are said to have fallen out of her apron in which she was carrying them. In Cornwall some cairns on St Agnes' Beacon are said to have been made by the wife of the Giant Bolster who carried them there in her apron; and the Chapel Rock between St Michael's Mount (the ancient Ictis) and the mainland was dropped there from the apron of the wife of the Giant Cormoran or Cormelian.²⁸ An interesting feature of the tale is that St Michael's Mount was said to have been built of white stones; and it was because his wife secretly brought a green one (Chapel Rock) that she incurred the wrath of her husband and was forced to drop it. Is there here a remote echo of the white stones covering the cairn of New Grange (and doubtless others too) which can still be seen there? The tale of the apronful of stones is widely distributed, as place-names show; there is a Devil's Apronful in Yorkshire, and the Devil's Lapful in Northumberland and Samson's Bratful in Cumberland are both long cairns of neolithic age. In Anglesey is the Apronful of the Giantess (Barclodiad y Gawres), a Passage Grave with decorated stones.²⁹ Do these tales preserve a dim memory of the vast labour that must have gone to make the cairns? It would surely be an abiding memory, more vivid perhaps than that of the deity whose image dominated—and still dominates—the tombs. Perhaps tradition, though preserving these memories, has mixed them a little and transformed them into a tale.

Some other features that recur in Iberia may be mentioned for completeness. In the Boyne tombs are great concave stone basins in which it is thought the cremated bones were deposited. Similar basins are found in the tombs in Spain; one in a Passage

²⁷ *Ipek*, 1926.

²⁸ Hunt, 1881, 47, 74.

²⁹ Piggott, 1954, 270; Powell and Daniel, 1956, especially pp. 76–8.

Grave at Matarrubilla³⁰ is rectangular, and has a shallow sill round the edge. I mentioned above the practice of sacrificing bulls and oxen as a common rite connecting the cults of East and West. Conclusive evidence of such sacrifice is always hard to find, particularly when dealing with the older excavations; but one may reasonably infer that the ox-burial beside a megalithic tomb at Lough Gur was a ritual affair.³¹ There was another outside another such tomb at Bryn Celli Dhu in Anglesey.³² Bones of domestic ox were found at Carrowkeel, allegedly of *Bos longifrons*, and an ox skull was found in the material of Cairn D at Lough Crew.³³ Free-standing pillars with no apparent structural functions have been found at Bryn Celli Ddu, Carrowkeel,³⁴ Ballynahatty, and New Grange. An old 18th-century illustration of the eastern side-chamber at New Grange shows eight small conical stones lying in disorder round the stone basins; they would hardly have been illustrated if they had not been thought different from the rest. They may have been baetyls; they have of course disappeared long since.³⁵

Comparisons have often been made between the Boyne tombs and Gavr Inis; Breuil would 'even go so far as to call Gavr Inis an Irish monument, in the same sense as the mounds of Armorica erected over the ship-burials of the northern pirates are called Scandinavian.'³⁶ There are certainly some common features; the concentric circles and multiple arcs, the zigzags and wavy lines occur at both sites, and the ground-plans are very similar. But the Gavr Inis spirals—there are less than half-a-dozen—are poor things compared with those of New Grange, nor was the smoothening technique used. Even more striking is the complete absence in Ireland of axe-representations, so common at Gavr Inis and elsewhere in Brittany.

The Boyne Passage Graves just discussed were built about the middle of the 2nd millennium. In his Chronological Table Piggott (1954) shows the range of the Boyne culture as extending from a little after 1800 B.C. to a little after 1500 B.C.; he prudently calls that table 'provisional'—who would not?—and warns us that 'such diagrammatic representations [give a definition] to chronological boundaries which in their very nature are indefinite and uncertain'. I feel doubtful about the date assigned to the beginning of the culture, which seems to me to be rather too early; if we assume that it began rather later its contacts with the Wessex culture would be more easily understandable. Those contacts have been enumerated by Piggott, and they indicate at the least a considerable overlap. To his evidence I would add that of bell barrows, one of the most distinctive features of the Wessex culture. These consist of a bell-shaped mound surrounded by a ditch and separated from it by a berm. (There are many round Stonehenge; a good one can be seen on the air-photograph used for the Frontispiece of Atkinson's book on Stonehenge, 1956.) Now some of the cairns and mounds of the Boyne tombs are separated by just such a berm from the peristalith which may well have taken the place of the ditch which, in stoneless country, delimited the sacred area. Indeed at Bryn Celli Ddu in Anglesey the covering mound is surrounded by both a

³⁰ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 102 (3).

³¹ O Riordain, 1955, 36.

³² *Arch.*, LXXX, 1930, 195, 213.

³³ Piggott, 1954, 218, giving references.

³⁴ *Arch.*, LXXX, 1930, 195, quoting *PRIA*, XXIX, 343, 346.

³⁵ MacRitchie, 1890, 127: facsimile of a drawing by Molyneux in 1724.

³⁶ Breuil and Macalister, 1921, 9 (separate pagination).

peristalith and a ditch too, the one set in the other, which was then filled up. There may be similar ditches round other Passage Graves not yet revealed by careful excavation. In the corner of a field 800 yards north-east of the cairn at New Grange is an earthen mound about 10 feet high, well preserved and separated from the peristalith by a wide berm. The diameter of the peristalith is about 40 yards. In the neighbourhood of Avebury, where sarsen stones were available, these were sometimes placed round the skirt of round barrows;³⁷ but most of them have now been destroyed, so that the age and nature of the barrow cannot now be determined. Piggott, in calling attention to the well-known concentration of bell barrows (and disc barrows) round Stonehenge, adds the pertinent observation that they 'might almost be described as barrows with an added Henge element'. That association is very evident at Knowlton in Dorset, where there is a huge bell barrow standing in the midst of several Henge monuments; and at both New Grange and Dowth we find similar groupings. Close to New Grange is a large round mound standing, like the one at Knowlton, in the centre of an enormous encircling earthen bank; and near it, down by the river Boyne, Professor O Riordain discovered and photographed from the air another very large enclosure consisting of a bank (now much spread) with no traces of a ditch.³⁸ The diameter between the crests of the bank is 140 metres (north-south) and 125 metres (east-west). There is another circle (also without any central mound now) east of the famous Passage Grave at Dowth, and O Riordain cites other instances, including one (diameter 110-30 metres) near the Fourknocks cemetery. The moundless enclosures mentioned are surely comparable with such Wessex examples as Durrington Walls and Marden. There are similar associations, including disc barrows, in the Orkneys, and Maes Howe itself, as Hemp pointed out more than twenty years ago,³⁹ is like an 'immense bell barrow'.

There is thus seen to be some outward and visible signs of a community of ritual between the Boyne and Wessex cultures. Even Stonehenge itself in its present (latest) form has some elements in common with a typical Passage Grave. If for instance we compare its plan with that of one of the contemporary Passage Graves, Bryn Celli Ddu, we find at the latter a burial chamber surrounded by an outer circle of stones (corresponding to the circle of trilithons) and an inner horseshoe (corresponding to the horseshoe of trilithons). In many of the Passage Graves, especially in Spain, the wall-slabs at the further (west) end of the chamber, facing the entrance, are higher than the others, for a rather complicated structural reason; and the trilithons at the south-west part of the Stonehenge horseshoe are correspondingly higher than their fellows. The correspondences are not of course exact here, but the common feature of additional height might perhaps have been due to a memory of that peculiarity in the chambers of Passage Graves. The trilithons themselves might have been suggested by their passages (or those of long barrows like West Kennet) which were in fact rows of trilithons. If this theory has any foundation Stonehenge would have been conceived as a sort of skeleton Passage Grave, or its sublimation. One could think of many reasons for building such a structure; if Passage Graves were the scene of rites and ceremonies it would

³⁷ See my remarks in *WAM*, XLII, 1922, 52-63.

³⁸ *JRSAL*, LXXXIV, 1954, 93-5.

³⁹ 1934, 413.

be quite natural to wish to have a place for them that was not encumbered by a mound or cairn. Thus might the temple have developed out of the tomb, as in Malta.

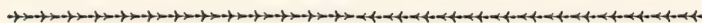
These ritual parallels, reinforced by others, show a remarkable affinity between the Boyne culture and that of Wessex, but there are differences. In Wessex there are none of the disintegrated Faces that adorn the Boyne tombs. That is not entirely due to lack of stone, for there are carvings at Stonehenge—axes, daggers, and the Box Symbol.⁴⁰ But the parallels for these are in Brittany, not Ireland. It must be left for further research to reveal what lies behind both the resemblances and the differences.

Another connecting link has been discovered since the above paragraphs were written. The late Professor O Riordain found in the cairn of a Passage Grave at Tara a secondary burial with an axe made of hard-baked clay, obviously ritual. This has not yet been published except in a broadcast.

⁴⁰ See Crawford, 1954 (c), and Atkinson, 1956, 177–8.

CHAPTER IX

FROM IRELAND TO BRITAIN



IT WAS PRESUMABLY from Ireland rather than directly from southern lands that the makers of Passage Graves came to the British Isles. With that movement we are only incidentally concerned here—only to the extent that the Passage Graves and their contents may reveal evidence of the cult that forms the subject of this quest. Conversely, any evidence coming from other sources must be taken account of. Fortunately the distribution and spread of Passage Graves has already been fully described elsewhere.¹ Two features of that distribution, however, should be mentioned: (1) Passage Graves are often found grouped together in cemeteries, unlike the graves of the earlier Long Barrow and Horned Cairn people, which are more often found in isolation. 'This points', says Glyn Daniel,² 'to a more highly integrated form of social organization than that of the independent farm unit, and the tombs themselves suggest an elaborate background of ritual and prestige'—and also, I would add, of organized labour. He also reminds us that 'the Passage Grave builders in South Iberia were without any doubt dwellers in small chalcolithic townships'. (2) Passage Graves are sometimes found in metalliferous areas, suggesting that their makers were voyaging prospectors. This idea was long ago suggested by Elliot Smith, followed by Perry; but it was propagated, particularly by Perry and even more by Massingham, with such ignorance and disregard of the facts that it was discredited. Nevertheless, says Daniel, 'part of their overstated case now seems to us to have had some reality'. That may be; but it is arguable that a movement which may have begun as a metal-quest may have continued under its own impetus. There are, for instance, no ores in the Orkney Isles or Denmark, both regions that were occupied by the builders of Passage Graves; nor are there any in those parts of Ireland where the Passage Graves are most abundant. Conversely, there are none in the copper regions in the south-west.

The eastward movement seems to have been slight, for it has left no such notable and abundant remains as we have in Ireland. The tombs are isolated and the carvings of no special note. The classic site is Bryn Celli Ddu in Anglesey, and it is so chiefly because it was the first to be properly and completely excavated, by Wilfrid Hemp, then acting for the Ministry of Works.³ The passage led to a polygonal chamber in which stood a smooth-sided pillar-stone that served no function and was certainly ritual. On the opposite wall-stone of this chamber a spiral was carved 'with a tool

¹ Childe, 1932, 1935, 1947; Grimes, 1936; Powell, 1938, 1956; Daniel, 1949, 1950.

² 1949, 175.

³ Hemp, 1930. See also *Ant.*, XII, 1938, 233, Pl. IV.



FIG. 35. Spiral from Passage Grave, Bryn Celli Ddu, Anglesey.

having a straight chisel-edge about an inch and a quarter long. . . . The curves of the spiral are somewhat irregular, being composed of a succession of straight or almost straight cuts'. Immediately behind (west of) the burial chamber was found a stone both of whose faces were partly covered with a pattern of wavy lines (one ending in a spiral), which was continued over the edge and round on to the lower side⁴ (Fig. 35). Its recumbent position close to the ritual pit at the centre of the horseshoe of stones was original and 'due to the deliberate action of the builders of the monument, not to a fall or overthrowing by violators of the site'. Hemp infers that 'it was intended to be set upright in the ground at some stage in the funeral rites in such a way as to display the pattern'. There is a general similarity to many of the Boyne carvings and quite a close one to a rock-carving at Eiro (Penha Longa) in Portugal,⁵ and to those at Belmaco in La Palma (Canary Isles).

At Barclodiad y Gawres in Anglesey⁶ is another Passage Grave, having cruciform burial-chambers in a round cairn, part of which was built of peat from an adjacent bog. The burials were cremations; no pottery of a primary kind was found, only fragments of a bone pin. Five of the stones had designs carved on them, including two groups of spirals, three of which plainly stand for eyes or faces.

Near Liverpool once stood a Passage Grave called the Calderstones; it no longer exists as such, but six of its stones survive and the existence of others is recorded. In 1845 they were set up to form a small circle, but it is known that previously they were enclosed in and covered by a cairn and that they supported a roof of larger slabs.⁷ In or about 1765 several urns (long since disappeared) were dug up amongst the stones.

⁴ Hemp, 1930, Pl. XLIX, 3; reproduced here by kind permission of the author and the Society of Antiquaries.

⁵ Serpa Pinto, 1929, 7 (separate pagination).

⁶ Powell and Daniel, 1956.

⁷ *Ant. J.*, XXV, 1945, 130, note 1.

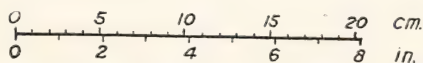


FIG. 36. Double spiral and feet on the Calderstones, Liverpool.

Particularly interesting are the carvings which have now at long last been properly recorded by photography and rubbings, carried out by the Liverpool Museum authorities under whose directions the stones have been again moved. (I have to thank them for the illustrations here published and for permission to quote from an unpublished account of the stones by Mr Forde-Johnston.) There is a double spiral with parallel curves, recalling similar designs in Atlantic lands; and there are three (and possibly four) carved feet exactly like those in Brittany⁸ (Fig. 36). There are also other spirals, concentric circles, broken circles, a picked triangle and some irregular lines.

⁸ See Péquart, 1927, Pls 76-8 (Petit Mont Passage Grave) and 135-6 (rock-surface at Roch Priol). But the modern forms of hands in Morocco are not unlike these 'feet' and it seems possible that they may be not feet but hands, to ward off the Evil

Eye; see Westermarck, 1926, I, 449, Fig. 44. For hands or feet on a stone at Bunsöh, Schleswig-Holstein, see Sprockhoff, 1938, Taf. 66; for the same on a rock at Deudeu in Eritrea see Rossini, 1923; and for Morocco, see also Harvey, 1906.

No indisputable Passage Graves have been found in the Isle of Man, but spirals are carved on a stone at Ballarragh, Kirk Lonan.⁹ The Ronaldsway plaque already mentioned¹⁰ has Iberian affinities, and the culture as a whole is roughly contemporary with that of the Boyne Passage Graves.

Evidence of the existence in England of either Passage Graves themselves or their art is extremely meagre, if we except the modified type of Scilly-Tramore which has no art. A standing stone near the stone circle of Long Meg in Cumberland has several concentric circles carved on it, some of which Breuil regards as human faces, and an anchor-shaped sign.¹¹ At Maughanby an S-shaped double spiral is carved on a natural rock.¹² The Folkton drums are discussed below. Evidently, though there was some sporadic migration to England, coming presumably from Ireland, the main advance was in another direction; but the point of departure cannot be determined with certainty.

There is no doubt, however, about the direction; it was northwards and north-eastwards from Ireland and the Irish Sea. There are many Passage Graves in the Western Islands and in the Orkneys, and a very special development of the type round the Moray Firth. But there are no carvings on the tombs in the Western Islands or on those round the Moray Firth; and the ones on the stones of the chief Passage Grave—Maes Howe in Orkney—were made by Norse tomb-robbers, as they themselves state in a runic inscription. Such few prehistoric carvings as there are—and they are a poor lot—occur mostly on tombs whose character is ill-defined or on stones removed from them and built into walls. Maes Howe itself¹³ is a huge bell barrow, differing only in size from those so abundant in Wessex; and all around are other monuments typical of the contemporary Wessex culture. The stone circle of Brodgar¹⁴ is a Henge monument standing within a circular ditch with opposed entrance-gaps; that of Stenness¹⁵ is similar but apparently had only one gap in its ditch; and there are disc-barrows at Bookan¹⁶ and Vola.¹⁷ All these sites are within a radius of three miles from Maes Howe on the shores of Lochs Harray and Stenness; there are besides many other tombs, including some Passage Graves. The whole group forms a cemetery some of whose elements are genetically related to the tombs of the Boyne and of Wessex and are probably to some extent contemporary with them. Professor Piggott¹⁸ has set out the evidence for these relationships and no further discussion of them is needed here.

Possible evidence for an eye-cult comes not only from carvings but from grave-goods. In 1858 one of the group of eleven barrows called the Knowes of Trotty, at Hunscaith, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of Maes Howe, was 'opened' by the farmer,¹⁹ who found in a small cist four thin gold discs (Fig. 37, a and b) and some amber beads placed on a flat stone. The beads, as Piggott recognized, are of the Wessex type, and indeed somewhat similar gold discs have been found there and also in Ireland. Moreover 'the barrow in which

⁹ Megaw, 1938, 225.

¹⁰ p. 95.

¹¹ 1934, Fig. 37, No. 2.

¹² 1934, Fig. 38, No. 17.

¹³ R. C. Orkney, No. 886. For bell barrows see Grinsell, 1934.

¹⁴ R. C. Orkney, No. 875.

¹⁵ R. C. Orkney, No. 876.

¹⁶ R. C. Orkney, No. 709.

¹⁷ R. C. Orkney, No. 889.

¹⁸ 1954, 255, 272.

¹⁹ Not by George Petrie as stated in R. C. Orkney, p. 30 (No. 73); see *PSAS*, III, 1861, 183, 195. The bones were thought to have been burnt.

[they were] found stands on a platform in a manner very reminiscent of Wessex bell barrows'.²⁰ Three of the discs have a hole in the middle (the fourth is imperfect) round which are concentric lines with oblique and straight lines between, and an outer circle of triangles. There is thus a fairly close resemblance to the eye-circles on the kerbstone at Dowth and to the starry eyes of a cylinder-idol from Algarve in Portugal (Leisner

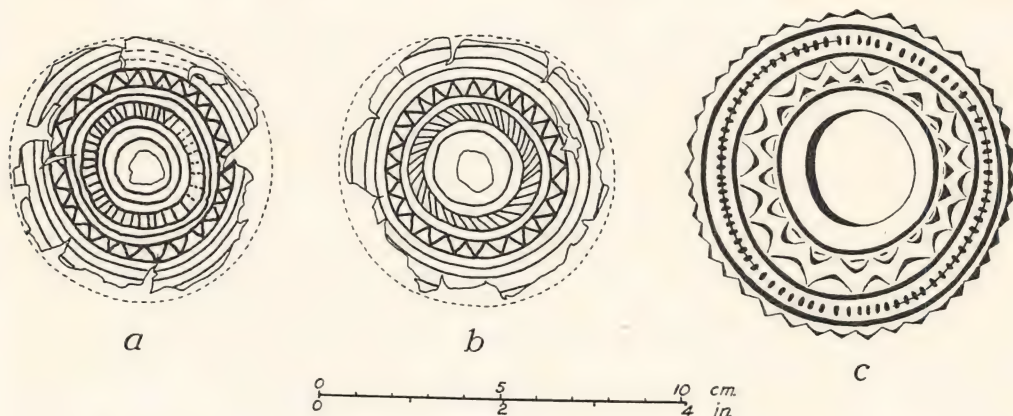


FIG. 37. Eye-like patterns: a, b. Gold discs from the Knowes of Trotty, Orkney. c. Pattern on bottom of food-vessel, Kilmartin, Argyll.

1943, Pl. 95, 8). But the closest resemblance is to the design on the bottom of a food-vessel from Kilmartin in Argyllshire. I had observed the resemblance of this to the eye-signs in general, but it was not until I discovered this near-identity with the disc-patterns that I felt convinced that there must be some connection. They are shown here side by side (Fig. 37).

On Papa Westray, one of the northernmost of the Orkney Isles, a stone was found in a long-chambered cairn of a type which, according to Piggott, is ultimately derived from the Maes Howe type of Passage Grave.²¹ On it were carved two eyebrow signs, in one of which²² are dots representing the eyes, a zigzag line, a sign like a capital E and another like a Greek theta, and some round dots.

On Eday, another island, a stone carved with two linked spirals, two triple concentric circles with a central dot, and part of another circle, was found in what seems to have been a chambered cairn, destroyed about 1821 to build a church, itself now abandoned and ruined. (The stone is now in the National Museum, Edinburgh.) The linking of the two spirals by a line across the top makes them look like eyes, but the design is a natural one to use when spirals are involved; it occurs on one of the Mycenae tombstones.

A few other carvings may be mentioned. At Brodgar was found a stone (also in the National Museum) carved on the edge with 'eight bands of chevrons, lozenges, and oblique lines'. It formed part of a cist about 3 feet by 2, one of a row of five. In three

²⁰ Piggott, 1954, 255.

²¹ Piggott, 1954, 235, Fig. 37.

²² R. C. Orkney, No. 544, p. 188, Fig. 270: *PSAS*, II, 1856, 61-2, Pl. III, No. 3.

of the cists were found rounded water-worn stones, 4 to 5 inches in length; and a saddle-quern is also said to have been found.²³ At Redland, four and a half miles north-east of Maes Howe, a stone 'sculptured on its larger end with a volute or spiral line of four turns', was found built into a wall.²⁴ At Arsdale a little north of the last site a stone with two spirals is built into a house; it was found in a nearby mound, now levelled by cultivation.²⁵

In view of its possible Iberian connection the Dwarfie Stane on the island of Hoy should be mentioned.²⁶ It is a huge flat sandstone block in which a passage leading to a pair of chambers has been hollowed out; in front of the original entrance lies a large squared block which once closed it. There can be little doubt that this was a rock-cut tomb of the kind common in Mediterranean lands; its plan can be paralleled in Iberia, Mallorca, and Sicily. Its existence here supports Piggott's view²⁷ that, although the Maes Howe group of tombs may be related in some way to the Boyne tombs of his Type 2 'and to such continental sites as La Hougue Bie in Jersey . . . derivation from Ireland is on the whole unlikely'. He cites the carvings at Papa Westray and Eday, and the Dwarfie Stane, as suggesting possible direct links with Iberia by the western sea-routes. It is yet one more example of the archaeologist's difficulty in discovering exactly what happened when, as nearly always, the evidence consists only of similarities in style and plan.

There remain a few other items to be disposed of. The Jarlshof plaque from Shetland has already been mentioned;²⁸ it is another hint of a direct link with Iberia. But the lozenge-and-spiral design on a potsherd from Skara Brae, closely resembling the design on a kerbstone at New Grange,²⁹ is a definite link with Ireland and nowhere else. Though of much later date (early in the present era) two objects from the Broch of Burrian in North Ronaldshay may conceivably represent a lingering memory of an old custom.³⁰ One is an ox-phalange with incised symbols of the well-known Pictish type; the other is a sandstone pebble with incised designs. We have seen that phalanges were used for ritual purposes in Iberia, and were ornamented with face-designs; and the pebble is similar to those already recorded above.

In a class by themselves are the curious and beautifully carved stone balls, whose patterns, as Breuil recognized, are made up of the same elements as the Boyne carvings.³¹ Their purpose is unknown, but the discovery of one at Skara Brae enables us to assign them to that same Rinyo-Clacton period to which the other examples of the art belong. Unornamented balls of chalk and other rocks have been found at Windmill Hill and Stonehenge, on the neolithic habitation-site at Ronaldsway in the Isle of Man, and in several of the Boyne tombs.

There are no Passage Graves in southern Scotland, but a few spirals have been recorded, mostly on natural rock-surfaces in the south-west.³² Two in Wigtown are

²³ R. C. Orkney, No. 895; *PSAS*, LX, 1927, 34-5,

Fig. 1.

²⁴ R. C. Orkney, No. 346.

²⁵ R. C. Orkney, No. 296.

²⁶ R. C. Orkney, No. 385; *PSAS*, LXX, 1936,

217-36.

²⁷ 1954, 254.

²⁸ pp. 95-6 above.

²⁹ p. 97 above.

³⁰ R. C. Orkney, p. 46, Figs 90 and 91.

³¹ 1934, 310; Piggott and Daniel, 1951, Pl. 18. For their distribution see Childe, 1931.

³² See lists with references in MacWhite, 1946, Appendix III, and map, Fig. 7.

double and S-shaped, and so is one at Hawthornden, Midlothian. A couple of concentric circles with concentric arcs between them from a cist at Beoch, Ayrshire, recall the design at Eday.³³ A stone in the cairn above a cist, yielding a beaker, at Catterline, Kincardineshire, had on its under surface a very crude spiral line with a central dot and two other circular marks. On a rock surface at Aberfeldy, Perthshire, Breuil discerned two pairs of eye-like circles separated by a vertical nose-like groove;³⁴ and on another in the Braid Hills near Edinburgh he found a design recalling one of those on the capstone in the east side-chamber at New Grange.³⁵

More relevant to the present context is the carving from a cist yielding a beaker on Carnwath Moor, Lanarkshire, now in the Edinburgh Museum.³⁶ Here is what Breuil regards, doubtless rightly, as a pair of eyes, represented by plain, concentric circles, separated by curved lines for the nose, with four short eyebrow or eyelash strokes above the left eye. There is also an isolated double concentric circle; and on each side a triangular arrangement exactly like those of the Boyne carvings.

There seems, then, to have been some sort of contact with the Boyne region, but nothing like large-scale colonization. Dating is difficult; the Carnwath Stone proves an overlap between Passage Grave art and the Beaker period, and the Catterline stone shows the same. The majority of the carvings on rock surfaces in Scotland consist of concentric circles, often with gaps and grooves running out from the centre. These belong to the Galician group but are found also in Passage Graves (at Knowth, for instance), and they are also found in the Canary island of La Palma. This of itself suggests far-flung maritime traffic; and there is other evidence for that.

We have seen that the cult of an Eye Goddess reached Ireland and North Britain together with those Passage Graves on whose stones the signs are carved. Passage Graves also reached Denmark, where they were the normal form of tomb during the first half of the 2nd millennium (Montelius's Period III); and although they themselves are unornamented some of the pots found in them have owl-faces of the now familiar type (Pl. 31 a). The eyes are shown by a circle with central indentations (for the pupils) and short circumferential strokes for the eyelashes. Between them is a raised nose-ridge and above are two brow-ridges on which (in another example) the hairs are indicated by short strokes. The fringe seems to be indicated by a double row of short stabs. The rest of the pot is ornamented with triangles, reversed below the rim, and filled with lines and dots. Another pot with a pair of eyes has also a double vertical row of lozenges and fir-tree designs³⁷ (Fig. 38 a).

A pot closely resembling these from the Danish Passage Graves both in form and decoration was recently found at Heidmoor near Berlin, on a habitation-site attributed to a late phase of the local Middle Neolithic period (Fig. 38 b).³⁸ On either side of a broad horizontally pierced handle is a pair of eyes shown by concentric circles set as before with short strokes. The handle was evidently regarded as the nose. Below the

³³ See p. 106 above.

³⁴ 1934, Fig. 35.

³⁵ 1934, Fig. 34.

³⁶ 1934, Fig. 23.

³⁷ Childe, 1950 (b), 184, Fig. 91 (3).

³⁸ *Germania*, 1955, Jahrgang 33, Heft 3, 256-8, Fig. 2. I wish to thank the editor, Dr Bersu, for the loan of this drawing and permission to publish it.

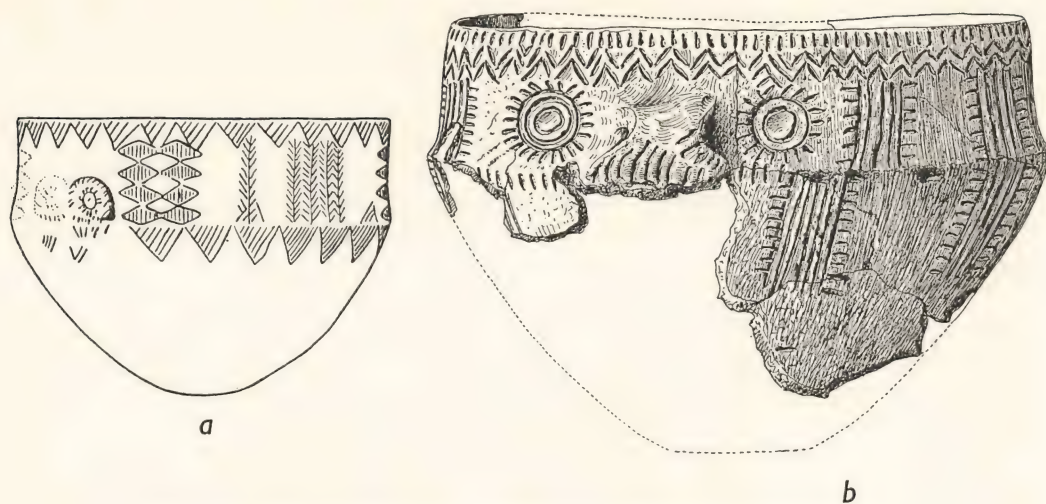


FIG. 38. European face-pots: a. Heidmoor near Berlin; b. Denmark.

rim is a double row of inverted V's, closely paralleled in one of the Danish examples. The shape of this German pot is almost identical with that of the Danish ones, and it would appear that the people who made it must either have come from Denmark or have been in very close contact with the Passage Grave people there.

The Danish Passage Graves are, for good reasons, regarded as of directly southern origin, though they also had commercial relations with Ireland.³⁹ The resemblance between the Danish and German owl-faced pots and those in Iberia is not confined to the presence of eyes but extends also to the other decorative motifs—the dot-filled triangles, the inverted V's and the fir-tree signs;⁴⁰ and the shapes of the pots are not dissimilar. Compare for instance the Danish one (Pl. 31 a) with Leisner's from Los Millares 4 (his Pl. 156, Nos. 1 and 3). A bronze dagger from a hoard at Bygholm in Jutland is very much like one from a Passage Grave at Alcalá, and is regarded by Childe as a Spanish import. A similar dagger from a Passage Grave at Los Millares (No. 2) was found with part of a human figurine, a conventional idol with breasts, a bowl with six eyes on its outer and lower surface, an unornamented phalange and other objects.⁴¹ The Bygholm axes are identical in shape with some of the Iberian ones, and would seem to have come from there with the dagger rather than from Ireland. From the evidence of the dagger and the sepulchral architecture Childe concludes⁴² that 'Montelius's Neolithic III in the north is no earlier than the Los Millares phase of the Copper Age in the Iberian Peninsula'. It is now agreed that the Danish Passage Graves were not, as was once thought, a typological development of the preceding megalithic burial-chambers, and that they represent a 'new influence'.⁴³ It is surely

³⁹ Childe, 1950 (b), 184, quoting *Arch.*, LXXXVI, 1936, 277.

⁴⁰ See for instance Leisner, 1943, Pls 16, 2 (11) and 20, 1 (7).

⁴¹ Leisner, 1943, Pl. 14 (2).

⁴² 1950 (b), 186.

⁴³ 1950 (b), 177, 183.

possible, therefore, to attribute them to the arrival of immigrants. If so we must suppose that voyagers from the south-west passed through the Straits of Dover and went on beyond to Denmark. If they went to Ireland they could quite well have made this longer but easier voyage, helped by the prevailing wind. But there is no need to labour this point; they were not the first people to reach Denmark by sea, for that country had already been occupied by earlier arrivals—the first neolithic farmers who built the chambered long barrows (dysser). These were, however, for single interments, whereas the Passage Graves were for collective burial. Such a change in burial customs supports the hypothesis of an immigration.

There is, indeed, evidence in support of such an immigration, suggesting that one point of departure was Brittany. At Tiberke in northern Sjælland, forty miles north-north-west of Copenhagen, Dr Ejnar Dyggve found a carved stone which he and his colleagues regard (with full justification) as connected with a cult and as of Bronze Age date⁴⁴ (Pl. 31 b). It is fragmentary, and is covered with grooved lines in the form of multiple arcs just like those at Gavv Inis and Lough Crew. It was found on a site, now occupied by an ancient church on a hill, which was certainly regarded as sacred from very early times, for it was approached by a paved road across a water-channel, and the remains of two converging walls were found exactly like those attached to the royal barrows at Jelling in Jutland.⁴⁵ These date from the 10th century A.D., but there are reasons for thinking that at Tiberke there was also a much earlier sanctuary. The name itself means the holy birch-grove of Ti, a god whose worship flourished early in the heathen period. The road is regarded as a processional way, dating from the Bronze or Early Iron Age, and beside it was found a brooch of an early type.

The owl-faced pots on the other hand point neither to Brittany nor Ireland, where no such pots occur, but to Iberia where they do. It has long been recognized that the chalk drums of Folkton Wold, with their eyes and eyebrows and pairs of concentric circles are ultimately of Iberian inspiration.⁴⁶ They seem to be yet another indication of a direct voyage coming through the Straits of Dover (Fig. 1); this seems more probable than Ireland as a source, which Breuil favours,⁴⁷ though admittedly there do exist parallels in Ireland. A third possible source of course is Denmark. Whatever the source, it can safely be affirmed that there were widespread movements by sea during the first half and middle of the 2nd millennium, involving the peoples of north-west Europe and the British Isles on the one hand, and Brittany and Iberia on the other. It is to some of these monuments that the spread of the eye-cult must be attributed.

⁴⁴ Dyggve, 1955.

⁴⁵ Dyggve, 1948, 195, Fig. 7.

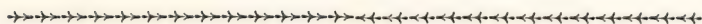
⁴⁶ Piggott and Daniel, 1950, Figs 8 and 9; Breuil, 1934, 310, Fig. 30. Breuil also mentions (p. 309)

some 'rough line decorations' on a stone in a barrow on the Cleveland Moors in Yorkshire.

⁴⁷ 1934, 310.

CHAPTER X

AFRICA



TO DEAL ADEQUATELY with the problem of our cult in Africa would require a whole book, but the writing of the book would be the easiest part, coming after a long spell of work in the field and in libraries without which it could not be written. That is not practicable, nor can this chapter do more than indicate a few of the directions in which future research seems likely to be remunerative. There is evidence that some elements of an archaic Mediterranean religion penetrated into the Sahara, and even crossed it to arrive on the banks of the Niger; and it seems certain that they also reached the Canary Islands. Once across the Sahara there would be nothing to stop a slow drift of nomads westwards into Senegal, Gambia and Guinea on the Atlantic coast and eastwards across the Sudan to Ethiopia (Fig. 42, p. 117). The route from the Mediterranean to the Niger runs over the great mountain massif of Ahaggar, whence possibly a branch route may have diverged south-eastwards to Tibesti and Darfur. (I am of course thinking rather of the slow peregrinations of nomads, than of routes used by caravans of traders.) These trans-Saharan routes would be less formidable if the climate had been less arid than it is today, and there is evidence that it was so during the moist Atlantic phase. Proof of a heavier annual rainfall (possibly to be assigned to the 4th millennium) is provided by snails in the Eastern Sudan.¹ The Sahara abounds in 'neolithic' sites situated on the margin of dried-up lakes and wadis. There is one such east of the Tefedest range of granite hills where there are said to be 'de très belles stations néolithiques' yielding worked flints, decorated pottery, broyeurs (? querns), and such like; near by are some 'fine big tombs'.² There even survive a few lingering remnants of the earlier fauna that must formerly have been far more abundant—crocodiles in Tibesti and Tassili, and freshwater fish in Tassili.³ These creatures presumably got there in post-Boreal times, for they could hardly have survived the Boreal phase if it was drier there, as elsewhere, than the present. The implications are far-reaching, and seem to indicate a vast system of rivers and torrents which, if not all perennial, were at least as well filled as the Atbara at certain seasons. Such for instance would have been the Wadi Hawa and Wadi Melik in the Libyan desert and the great wadis of the Sahara. There is archaeological evidence for cultural connections between Ténéré on the eastern slopes of Ahaggar and the Nile Valley near Khartoum at a date somewhere about the 4th millennium. There are resemblances between the pottery of these two regions; and,

¹ Crawford, 1954 a, giving references.

³ Vaufrey, 1936, giving references and other

² The only record is five lines in *L'Anthropologie*, LV, 1951, 48. evidence.

probably later, a similar type of necked stone axe is found in quantities in Ténéré and also in Tibesti and the Wadi Hawa.⁴

In a discussion of the age of the many naturalistic rock-carvings in French North Africa Professor Vaufrey states that he cannot find any traces there of post-Mousterian or post-Aterian, that is of Late Palaeolithic, activities. This would imply a break between the Mousterian and Neolithic periods during which the area was uninhabited, and perhaps for climatic reasons uninhabitable. He suggests that these rock-carvings may all fall within the period 4000–1000 B.C., pointing to certain indications of influence coming from pre-dynastic Egypt, which was the growing point of cultural progress in Africa. From this point of view French North Africa appears as a colonial region, displaying the backwardness characteristic of such regions in all periods.⁵ (It still is, and does.)

We should then, as it would seem, visualize the neolithic Sahara as a vast region, big enough to hold most of Europe, containing large lakes, of which only those on the Niger and Lake Chad survive, and some intermittent, and perhaps also some perennial, rivers, on whose banks lived neolithic agricultural communities. The whole of the Niger bend was covered by an inland sea fed by torrents from the Adrar hills in the north-east and the highlands in the south; the existing lagoons and flood-plains south and west of Timbuctoo are remnants of this great lake. Though communications were easier than now, and though we may be sure that there was intercourse over great distances, such influences as trickled in from outside became attenuated and absorbed just as was the water of the torrents. Though querns suggest the practice of agriculture we may guess that it was merely one, and perhaps not the most important, of the modes of subsistence.⁶ It would have been the 'incipient agriculture' surmised by Braidwood.⁷ Rainfall, though heavy, was capricious, as in all marginal areas, so that it would be necessary to keep on the move and sow wherever the rain was most plentiful. Such nomadic agriculture is still practised in Darfur, now a marginal area.⁸ Innumerable rock-pictures from the Red Sea to the Atlantic prove that the dominant interest of those who drew them was in cattle-raising, supplemented by hunting and in suitable places fishing.

Naturally such a picture as I have drawn must be regarded as a rough sketch only. Moreover during the four millennia or so covered there must have been changes and development. Hunting activities would recede and diminish as cattle-raising advanced, and agriculture would bring further changes. The infiltration of northern influences from the Mediterranean can hardly have begun before the 3rd millennium, and is more likely during the 2nd and 1st. Unfortunately it is impossible to date most of the evidence, even approximately.

The chief areas involved are Morocco,⁹ the Central Saharan massif of Ahaggar and its environs, and the western part of the great Niger bend. We shall then have to deal

⁴ *Ant.*, XXIX, 1955, 34–5, 161–2.

⁵ Vaufrey, 1936, 635.

⁶ For querns see Vaufrey, 1936, 632–3. There are several from Saharan sites in the Musée de l'Homme and many others recorded in the literature.

⁷ *Ant.*, XXX, 1956, 223–4.

⁸ See Crawford, 1954 b, 226 ff.

⁹ For which area I am indebted to M. Malhomme, who has most kindly sent me drawings and allowed me to rearrange them for publication; see my Figs 39 and 40, and his article in *BSPM*, 1950.



33. Inscription in Libyan characters, partly obliterated by later
'fir-tree' design, Balos, Gran Canaria



34a and b. Carved stones from Garafia, La Palma



35a. Channelled pot from Garafia, La Palma



35b. Stabbed pot from Garafia, La Palma



36. General view of the carved boulder at Belmaco, La Palma



37a. Belmaco carvings: in centre, the 'goat'; on right, an interrupted circle



37b. Belmaco: spirals and wavy lines



38. Guanche figurine, Museo Canario, Las Palmas



39a. Phallic menhirs near Soddu in Wolāmo, Southern Ethiopia



39b. Carved steles, Soddo, Lake Zuwai, Southern Ethiopia



40 a and b. Elaborately carved steles, Silté, Southern Ethiopia



41a. Carved stele with head and later cup-marks,
Silté, Southern Ethiopia



41b. Carved stele with necklaces and 'beak',
Silté, Southern Ethiopia



42a. Tomb of an Arussi chief surrounded by memorial stones,
west of Shashamanna, Southern Ethiopia



42b. Arussi memorial stones near Shashamanna, Southern Ethiopia



43a and b. Syrian corn dollies collected by Mr Paul Copeland ;
a is 19 inches, b 20 inches wide





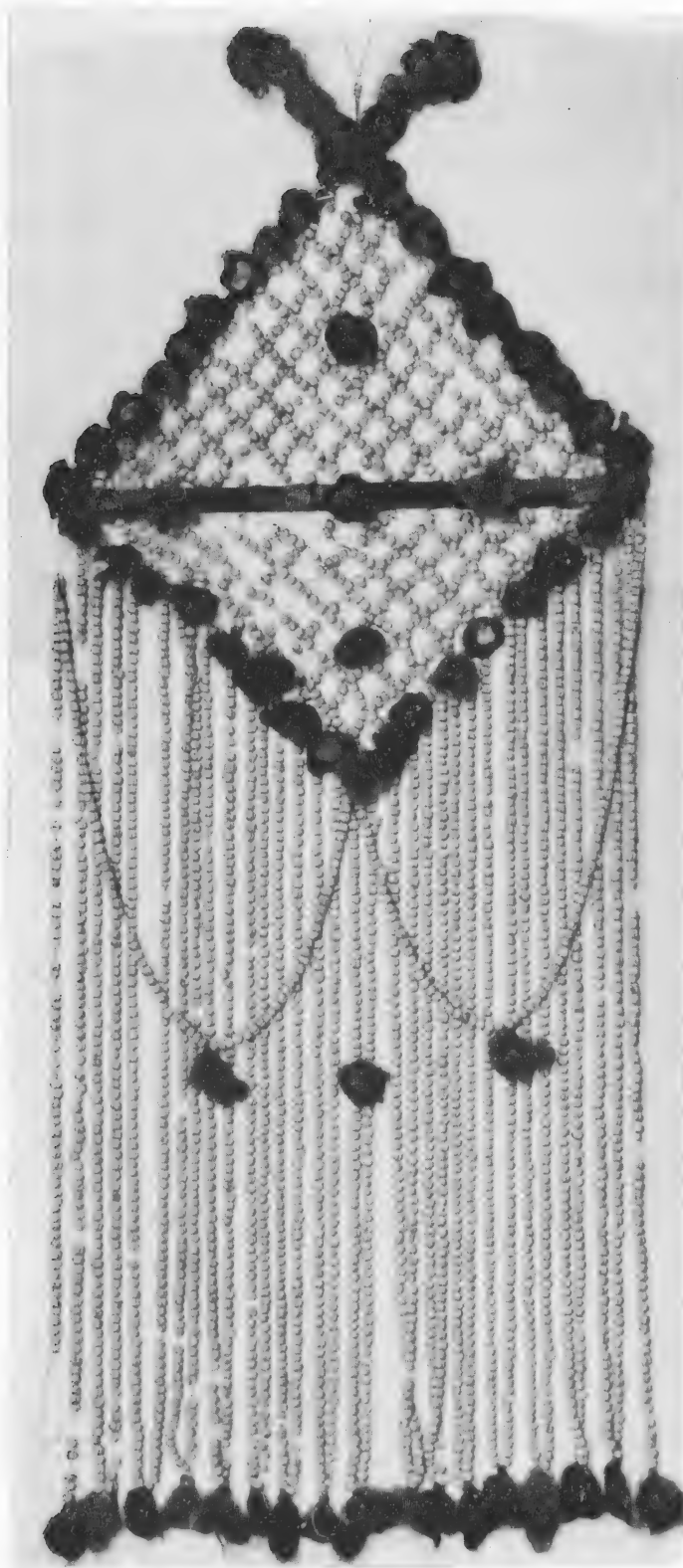
44. Galla memorial stone and offerings on poles north of Shashamanna, Southern Ethiopia



45. Galla memorial stone and offerings on poles north of Shashamanna, Southern Ethiopia



46. Syrian eye-charm collected by Mr Paul Copeland, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high



47. Turkoman Doll of chick-peas, collected by
Mr Paul Copeland, 4 feet high



48. Shrine at Ploemel, Brittany

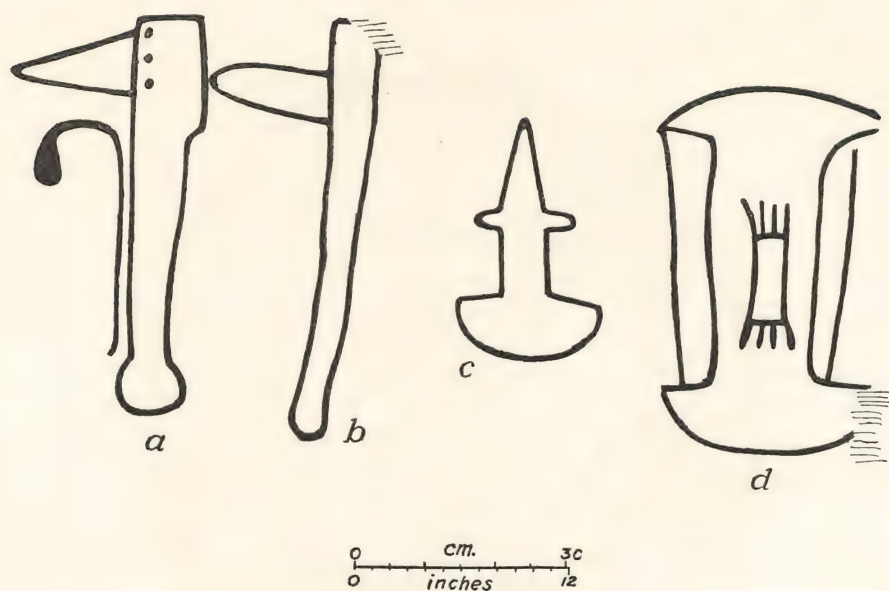


FIG. 39. Rock-carvings of halberds and axes, Talât n'Iisk, Morocco.

with two important outlying regions—the Canary Islands in the west and southern Ethiopia in the east.

At Igoudmane des Ait Inzell (Yagour) in Morocco are carvings of circles with straight or wavy lines running from the centre, which is marked by a dot. There are one, two, or three (concentric) circles, and the issuing line ends in a dot; some lines have triangles and circles set on them like beads. Other circles at Lalla Mina Hammou (Yagour) have lines inside forming various patterns; one has short circumferential strokes round the outside and lower part. The designs at Igoudmane resemble some of the cup-and-ring patterns on rocks in Scotland and Galicia, and must surely be in some way related to them.

At Talât n'Iisk is a most interesting series (Fig. 39). There is a halberd (a) whose blade, presumably of copper or bronze, is shown attached to the handle by three rivets. On one side of it is a curved object like a crozier with an expanded end, and on the other an implement (b) of some kind mounted in a handle. On the right (c) is what looks like a lugged axe (trunnion celt); there is another almost identical, and a third whose 'edge' is not expanded. Beside one of them is what looks like a double axe (d), but it may be something quite different. There are many roundish figures with various patterns in the interior; one of the largest and best (Fig. 40) has a central dot trasversed by wavy lines; round the inside of the circumference is a series of six multiple arcs joined by smaller ones of four lines each, while the outside is set with short strokes. The whole is clearly a metal-age complex, and there is a strong suggestion of the Eye Goddess about the design of Fig. 40, which has three of the elements elsewhere associated with the megalithic cult. The symmetrical arrangement of the multiple arcs suggests that they



FIG. 40. Rayed circle, Talât n'Iisk, Morocco.

might perhaps be meant for eyes and eyebrows, the four middle ones being the nose-ridge.

These carvings, and especially the last, must surely be related to certain Moroccan steles also carved with multiple arcs, wavy lines and the human figure. One of these, from Kheila near Rabat (Fig. 41 a)¹⁰ has 'necklace-arcs' at the top; two wavy lines (the tresses) run down from each of the 'shoulders', and between them below is a conventional representation of a human figure in low relief. Another stele from Kheila is imperfect, but has lateral arcs and between them the lower part of a similar figure. A stele from Maaziz (Fig. 41 b) partially defaced by a military carving of 1911, is otherwise perfect and has the necklace-arcs with eight dependent wavy lines, four on each side, divided by a medial vertical straight one. Inside the innermost arc at the top is what looks, on my photograph, like two dots for eyes and a short line for a nose, but

¹⁰ The drawing is from a photograph published in *Ant.*, IX, 1935, opp. p. 121. I have photographic prints of the two others described here. To the

references given in *Ant.* may be added an article by Breuil, 1930, 488-9, where they are illustrated.

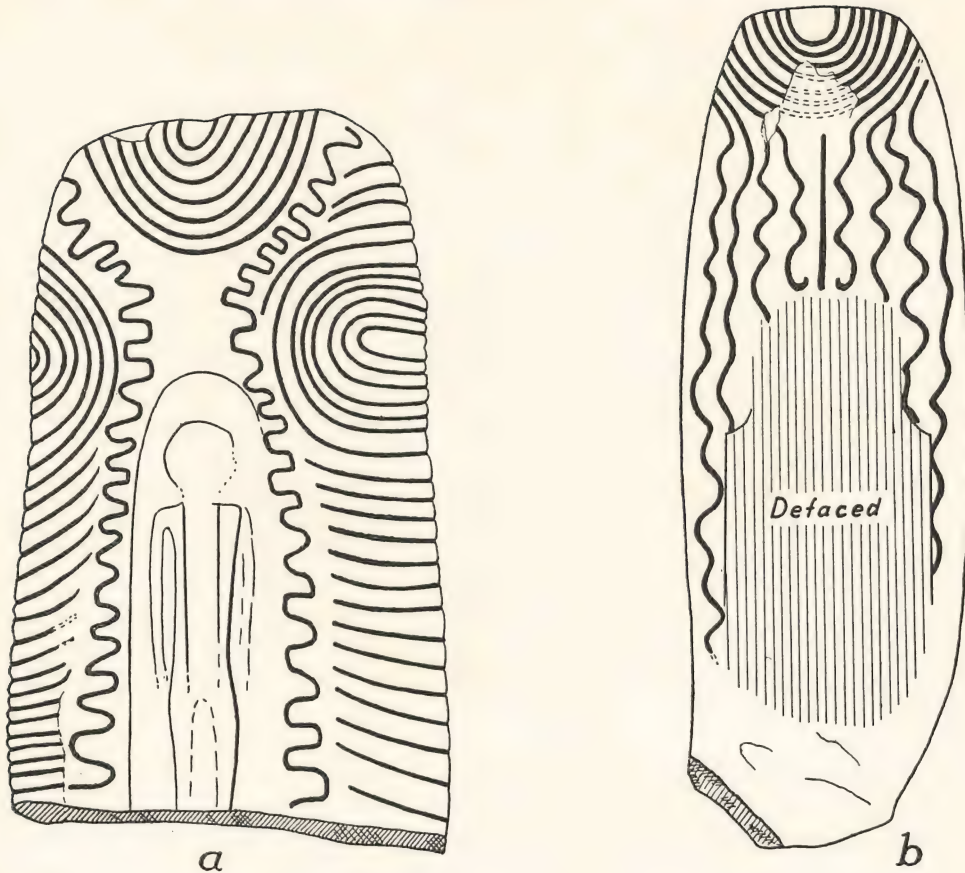


FIG. 41. Moroccan steles: a. Kheila; b. Maaziz.

this needs first-hand confirmation, if and when the present whereabouts of the stone can be discovered. (My efforts to locate it were unsuccessful.)

I believe it is usual to assign a late date to these North African steles; but even if they be late they must surely be traditionally related to their French and Italian counterparts, the statue-menhirs. For it must be emphasized that Africa outside Egypt contained none but barbaric societies right down into the 1st millennium B.C., and that their traditional cultures must therefore have been still flourishing when the first civilized communities were founded on their shores. Before then those communities may have been spasmodically influenced by the civilizations of Egypt and the Mediterranean, but they would appear to have retained their barbaric independence and vitality. Even the foundation of the Semitic colonies of Carthage and Axum did not extinguish indigenous customs and beliefs. The Egyptian conquest of Nubia and the northern Sudan had a most profound effect, but even there older African elements survived and re-emerged, modified perhaps but not killed. The impact of Roman civiliza-

tion was far severer, but even it probably left many cultures intact. Useful technical appliances such as the rotary quern would be incorporated without involving any change in religious rites or beliefs. In outlying regions such as the Canary Islands the aboriginal culture lasted, modified perhaps but essentially unaltered, down to the 15th century, and in southern Ethiopia, as we shall see, it still endures, as little influenced by Addis Ababa as once by Axum. Even today the Kabyles of Algeria make painted pottery in a neolithic style; and in Ireland corn dollies are still made and, it seems, deposited as votive offerings in megaliths.

We need not therefore be troubled even if many of these Moroccan steles should prove to be of late date, for they must represent an ancient and living indigenous tradition. The halberd of Talât n'Iisk proves that the carvings there belong to the local Copper or Bronze Age, and others which we cannot so confidently date may be of the same age. That halberd is convincing evidence of contact with Europe in or not long after the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., even supposing that halberds survived in use locally longer there than elsewhere.

There seems to be no trace of similar carvings in Algeria or Tunisia, possibly because of the scarcity of suitable rocks, but more probably because of the scarcity of field-archaeologists. Breuil¹¹ mentions a group of 426 'aligned steles' at Ain Tougga in Tunisia, 'trop sommairement signalées par G. Guérin, dont beaucoup portent des représentations de "serpes", de "têtes de bovidés" etc.'; and he compares them with those of Tondidaro on the Niger, to be described later. Associated with some of the Tunisian 'dolmens' and rock-cut tombs near Cap Bon are certain standing stones, but their character is described as 'doubtful'.¹²

We must now leave north-west Africa and enter the Sahara, where all attempts to date the cult-objects must be finally abandoned for lack of evidence, so that we are forced to admit once more that they may be later survivals. That hypothesis is not so flimsy as it may seem. The alternatives are to postulate either independent invention, which is most improbable, or introduction from an outside source, which would postulate survival there of things that had been given up elsewhere.

The first Saharan site is on the northern margin of the Ahaggar Massif, in a region called Tassili des Ajjers. It is 43 miles south of Fort Flatters and about 660 miles south by west of Tunis, and is called Tabelbalet. Here in 1905 Captain Touchard discovered a small circle of about nine stones, four of which had carved on their rounded tops an owl-like pair of eyebrows and nose, below which is a curved ridge delimiting the lower part of the head.¹³ The eyes themselves are faintly indicated, and the resemblance to the Mediterranean owl-faces is striking (Pl. 32).

About 190 miles east of the last site, two miles east of Hassi Ouan Sidi, close to the

¹¹ 1930, 494. It is impossible to locate 'Ain Tougga' in the French Colonial Atlas from such an inadequate description, and the site is unknown to my correspondents in North Africa.

¹² Information kindly supplied by M. Gabriel Camps, professor of History and Geography, Bardo Museum, Algiers, referring to Deyrolle, 1906.

¹³ *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr. de Paris*, 1909. 'Le Monument de Tinhinan', by Gautier and Reygasse, Fig. 17; Breuil, 1930, 500, Fig. 124. A photograph (Ph.D. 45-251) of the circle is exhibited in the Musée de l'Homme (Case 165). One of the stones is now in St Germain Museum, and the other eight are in the Bardo Museum, Algiers.



FIG. 42. Map of Northwest Africa showing sites mentioned.

Libyan frontier, there was found a statue-menhir with eyes, eyebrows, and nose, together with some stone images of animals, including hornless oxen, carved in the round with considerable skill.¹⁴ It may be remembered that hornless cattle were shown on the handles of some of the neolithic Italian pots from Serra d'Alto.

A third site is somewhere near the first and perhaps identical with it, being described under the name of Fort Flatters.¹⁵ The photograph, even worse than usual, seems to show a menhir with a rounded top on whose upper face is a sort of squarish panel with sides curving round at the top to form brow-ridges and nose.

A map in the Bardo Museum, Algiers,¹⁶ shows the Saharan distribution of these and some other objects like them, nine altogether. Six are situated in the Ahaggar massif; one from Tazerouk is described as 'tête stylisée de femme blanche' (No. 1); and there

¹⁴ Musée de l'Homme, Case 165 (39.2295/54 and M.H. 39. 73. I). The site is about 120 miles north-east of Fort Polignac.

¹⁵ Musée de l'Homme, photograph C. 45.1769/493: 'contretypé d'une photo du Capitaine Lanibois'.

¹⁶ I am indebted to M. Bailloud of the Musée de l'Homme for a print of this, made from a negative in the Museum; Fig. 42 incorporates some of the items.

are figures of oxen from Silet (No. 8) and Oued Amazzat (No. 6). From outside the Ahaggar, far to the north-west at Tamentit near Adrar, comes another ox-image ('tête de belier').

These things, few though they be, may justifiably be regarded as representative and as standing for a larger number; for the region is still archaeologically unexplored, and the scanty observations recorded are all due to the interest of a few intrepid Frenchmen. There must be many others in places seldom or never visited. The excellence of the craftsmanship is remarkable, especially that of the oxen; the rock they were made of is very hard, and their highly polished surface does not seem wholly due to wind erosion. When they were made we do not know nor in what region the cult originated, assuming it to be derived from outside. My own impression is that it came from Algeria or Tunis rather than from the north-east; for I believe that East Mediterranean influences reached north-west Africa mainly by sea rather than by land along the barren coast of Libya. But a land route cannot be wholly ruled out, for there is historical evidence of its use. Between 1043 and 1054 A.D. whole tribes of the Hilali bedawin were encouraged by the Fatimid Khalif of Egypt to cross the Nile, and in 1054 they reached Qairawan and sacked it. The province of Ifriqiya was devastated and ruined, and the inhabitants fled to Egypt, Sicily, Spain and Fez.¹⁷

Ahaggar lies halfway across the Sahara between the Mediterranean coast and the Niger, and it was probably by way of Ahaggar that the cult reached that river. The most important site on it is that of Tondidaro, ten miles north-west of Niafunké, chief town of the Issa-ber region, which is about ninety miles south-west of Timbuctoo. (The name 'Tondidaro' is compounded of a Songhai word *tundi*, stone, and the Arabic word *dar*, land.) It was discovered by the Governor-General Brevié who between 1903 and 1906 showed it to Lieutenant Desplagnes, who described it in his book on the Central Nigerian plateau. Other accounts are by Eugène Maes¹⁸ and Henri Clérisse,¹⁹ and there is a brief mention by the Abbé Breuil.²⁰ Not one of these writers tells us all we should like to know about an obviously important group of monuments. Three of the sculptured standing stones, however, were brought back to Paris and are therefore available for close study. They are exhibited in the Musée de l'Homme (Place du Trocadero), but they are in such a position that adequate photographs of them could only be taken at night by artificial light. In the same museum are many negatives taken of the stones in Africa, all of very poor quality. Maes says that a mile south-east of Tondidaro are two groups of worked and carved stones. The first and most important consists of about 150 stones set in the form of an ellipse, biggest in the middle; they are between 1.45 m. and 0.25 m. in height. Excavations at the foot of the stones of the main group 'ne donnèrent pas grand résultat'; fragments of pots with sides 0.05 m. thick were found and three very small fragments of bone. A photograph of the pottery in situ shows what looks like a large thick-sided pot (broken), not unlike those typical of 'neolithic' north-west African pots. There appears to be no other record of this pottery, which presumably was not thought worth removal or preservation; to the finders the discovery of pottery was not, perhaps, a 'grand résultat'. A mile north of Tondidaro

¹⁷ Cresswell, 1940, 214.

¹⁸ Maes, 1924, 31-8.

¹⁹ Clérisse, 1952.

²⁰ Breuil, 1930, 494.

are two sinuous alignments of stones, 200 and 70 metres long respectively, and an ellipse and a rectangle. No plans of any of them exist.

The three standing stones from Tondidaro in the Musée de l'Homme are all of a very hard reddish-brown rock, and the weathering of the designs on them proves that they must be of considerable antiquity. I will describe first the one furthest from the window; in spite of its very phallic appearance I am not entirely convinced that the makers intended it to represent a phallus. Round part of the top a deep groove has been carved, but it runs round the front and sides only (an important distinction) and is not continued round the back, which is unornamented. On the uppermost part of the face is a V-shaped and rather nose-like ridge left in relief by the removal of the surrounding surface, and below, touching the point of the V, are two less prominent ridges. Below the groove are two rows of parallel lines arranged in a V-shaped pattern, rather like those on the Iberian plaques (Fig. 16 e); below is a rectangular area, different in appearance from the rest of the surface and bounded on the lower side by a horizontal groove. This rectangular area extends halfway round the sides; it has a reddish appearance which may be caused by tooling of the surface rather than by paint. In the panel are parallel lines in the shape of an inverted V.

The middle stone has a row of three parallel zigzag grooves round the upper part, and lower down a triangle (whose apex is obscure and seems damaged) filled with cross-lines and with short ones set outside the base line. On one of the sides is a similar design running upwards into a pattern of crossed lines.

The stone nearest the window is certainly very phallic-looking and has three (and in places four) broad shallow grooves running right round the upper part, but no other traces of carving.

The other stones at Tondidaro had carvings of the same kind. Some are shown in Fig. 43 (the drawings were made from photographs in the Clérissse collection at the Musée de l'Homme). One of them (b) has concentric arcs carved below grooves round the upper part and vertical median grooves on the face. Another (c) appears to have multiple arcs on either side of the median grooves, though in fact the grooves form continuous undulating lines.²¹ On another (a) is a pair of intersecting triple grooves like a St Andrew's cross, above what looks like a round raised boss; then come three parallel curvilinear grooves and a pronounced boss. (There is a similarly placed boss inside what looks like a triangle on a stone not here illustrated.)

The resemblance of these patterns to those on the Moroccan steles is obvious. On both we have multiple arcs and a median line together with wavy lines which in one instance (just mentioned) appear to simulate multiple arcs. The St Andrew's cross (Fig. 43 a) also occurs on the Iberian plaques and on some of the Southern Ethiopian stones described in Chapter XII. Perhaps it may stand for the 'cross bands over the breast, so typical of the Libyans in the Egyptian paintings'; they appear also in Tuareg rock-drawings which 'emphasize the long robe worn by the Tuareg and sometimes the cross bands'.²²

Clérissse also records²³ the discovery of many other archaeological sites in the neigh-

²¹ Compare Powell and Daniel, 1956, Pl. 33 (Pola c'e Allande, Asturias).

²² Rodd, 1926, 265.

²³ 1952, 274.

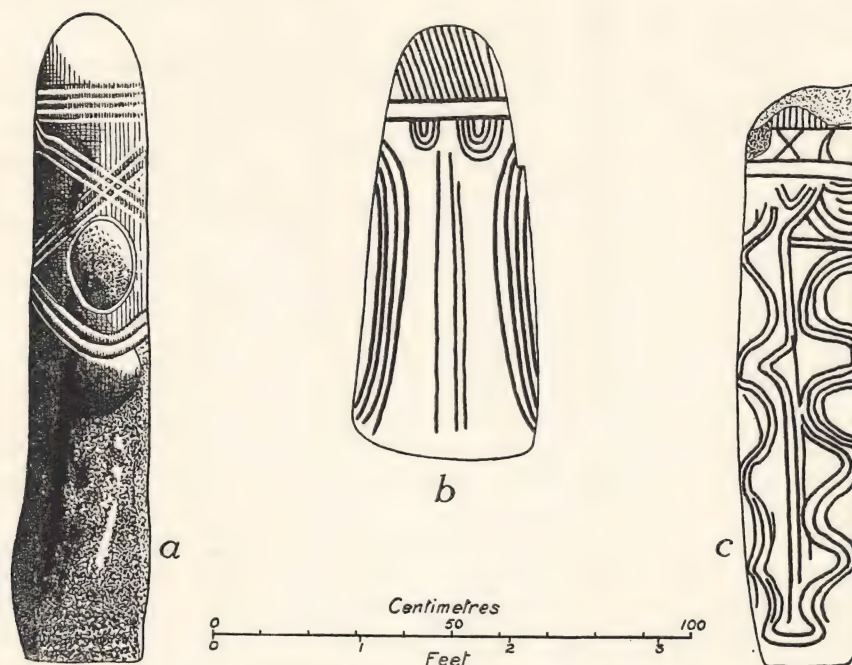


FIG. 43. Carved menhirs at Tondidaro on River Niger, after the Clérisse photographs.

bourhood of Tondidaro, including a 'chain of tumuli' running parallel to the Niger from Sibó to Lake Debo, and stones covered with cupmarks on the plateau above the track from Niafunké to Léré; and that one local report said that white men were buried beside the standing stones, and another that they were men turned into stone. The latter story is told also of some of our western megaliths.²⁴ On the surface of the biggest of the Sibó tumuli Clérisse found 'une petite poterie en forme de tulipe extrêmement curieuse, et de nombreux fragments de poterie peinte'. Needless to say neither the painted pottery (which might have proved invaluable) nor the other is illustrated or its present location indicated.

There is another group of standing stones 350 miles higher up the Niger near Bammako and the village of Moribabougou, which is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bammako along the road to Koulikoro, between the road and the railway. There are three tall unworked stones, one 2.70 m. and the others 1.50 m. high; there was formerly another group but it was destroyed in making the railway. Desplagnes compares them with those still to be seen in Habbes villages, to which libations and offerings are made. 'The famous rock of Tapa near Koniakary, recorded by Raffanel, is a monument of this type.'²⁵ The Habbes live inside the Niger bend, south-east of Timbuctoo, and their culture is said to have many features of Mediterranean origin, including a belief in the power of the Evil Eye. They practise ancestor worship and make annual offerings of seed at the

²⁴ E.g. in Cornwall; see Hunt, 1881, 177.

²⁵ Desplagnes, 1906, 83.

graves in the belief that it is these ancestors residing in the underworld who make it fertile.²⁶ We shall meet with kindred beliefs on the other side of the continent.

I must resist the temptation to follow up the clues suggested by these survivals—if they are such—and to discuss other evidence from this region indicating a northern origin. Some of the evidence is anthropological and consists of existing or recently extinct customs and beliefs, and it is therefore outside the scope of this book. Some of it, though archaeological, is difficult to use because it comes from stray finds or inadequate records. Practically nowhere in Central Africa west of the Nile has there been any properly conducted excavation; and until not merely one but several have been undertaken *and fully and adequately published* we can have no certain knowledge of the ancient cultures there and of their chronological succession. Nevertheless I must mention one or two facts, if only as a stimulus for future research. We are told, for instance, that in Gambia the place where the 'cult of the earth' is celebrated is surrounded by a circle of standing stones, and that at this spot there are annual sacrifices of the products of cultivation and of 'black animals' whose blood is let into a pit.²⁷ This rite is widely distributed in antiquity.²⁸ Then there are those mysterious and now extinct Saos who (as alleged) lived round Lake Chad between the 9th and 16th centuries. Today they are known only by tradition and from the archaeological material which is locally attributed to them. The historical character of the Saos is attested by Arab chroniclers.²⁹ Amongst the things dug up are burials in large jars, and ancestor effigies; one of these about 18 inches high is a barbarous torso with very broad shoulders, a huge (perhaps artificially distended) mouth, a necklace and cross-bands on the chest. The hair is ribbed. Other figurines have the heads of oxen and hippopotami. There are also bronze anklets and a bronze pin with double spiral head (Case 113). Amongst the pottery is a double cup of the incense-cup type ornamented like its western analogues with two rows of dot-filled inverted triangles, and many potsherds with incised decoration.³⁰ The figurines have a negroid appearance partly due perhaps to lip-deformation. The culture thus revealed seems to show traces of northern contacts combined with other features of African origin.

It is legitimate to ask whether these cultural features of probable northern (Mediterranean) origin—excepting perhaps the last mentioned—can be associated with any existing ethnic group? Such an association is not necessary, for they may have been carried southward by different groups at different times, down to the present. But the bearers must be non-negroid, which narrows the search. If there are any descendants of the original immigrants they should, in accordance with the known rules of racial dispersion, survive in small enclaves distributed over a wide area on the margin of their

²⁶ Baumann, 1948, 411, 423-4.

²⁷ Baumann, 1948, 387. The only reference there given is to 'Parker' whose publication is not mentioned in the list of books consulted.

²⁸ See for instance *Odyssey*, XI, 34-7. The Arussi Gallas perform a precisely similar rite at funerals: and in 1614 the people of Gingiro did the same when burying their king. See Hartlmaier, 1956, 25-6; Jones and Monroe, 1935, 105.

²⁹ Information from label in the Musée de

l'Homme, where the objects described here are exhibited, with many others from that region.

³⁰ This triangle-ornament which is found on incense-burners from Bronze Age Wessex and Brittany to modern Central Africa is clearly derived from the triangular holes cut in the lower part to hasten cooling by radiation and so make it easier to carry them. See *Ant.*, XXVII, 1953, 35-9, and Contenau, 1927, Fig. 255.

original habitat. Those conditions are fulfilled by the Peuls³¹ whose present discontinuous distribution extends from Adamawa on the upper Benue river in the Cameroons south of Lake Chad to Senegal on the Atlantic. They have yellowish or reddish coloured skin and hair worn in ringlets but not curled (*frisé-serré*); they have little body-hair, and long oval faces with prominent noses. They are said to resemble the modern Ethiopians and to be descendants of a 'white' race which was established at the beginning of the Christian era in the region west of Timbuctoo. Then, emigrating into the Senegal district of Fouta they became mixed with negroids. Later they migrated eastwards intending, according to a legend, to return to the country of their origin; but they never got beyond Darfur. At the beginning of the 19th century Ousman dan Fodio, a Peul of Gober, led his fellow Peuls against the Hausa and created a new state of Sokoto, temporarily uniting the Hausa in an empire ruled by a Peul aristocracy and having a Mohammedan religion. They still have political powers in the northern Cameroons; elsewhere they live amongst negroes in a state of semi-serfdom and sometimes even as outcasts.³²

The alleged physical resemblance to Ethiopians is interesting because a recent study of the Peul language³³ claims to have found connections with 'the Ethiopian language' as well. The author concludes that 'the ancestors of the Peuls had deep roots in a region located in Arabia or in parts of Africa adjacent thereto, which linguistically was Semitic or Semito-Hamitic'. It would appear that the Peuls must have left their eastern home at a very early prehistoric date; but why must their origin be looked for in the region where there are *now* linguistic affinities? The hypothetical association, suggested above, of the Peuls with the spread of Mediterranean cultural features may seem to be at variance with Mr Engeström's conclusions. I am not qualified to discuss the philological theory and must therefore leave the matter as it stands. Is it possible that the Peuls could have come from the East via the north of Africa?

According to Homburger³⁴ the Peul language is closely connected with that spoken by the Masai in East Africa, who 'belonged originally to the reddish-brown race who lived on the steppes of East Africa and spoke the language we have named "Saharan"'. Rossini, however,³⁵ asserts that Masai is not a Hamitic language. Let the philologists fight it out.

Another theory is that of Desplagnes,³⁶ who attributed some of the ancient sites in Central Africa (though not specifically those just described) to 'the primitive black peoples who claim to be indigenous' and who survive as refugees in the Niger islands and inaccessible mountains inside the Niger bend (Habbés, N. Doyom Tombo, Oumbo). The traditions, manners and customs of these peoples resemble those of the present inhabitants of Guinea and Cazamance (sixty miles south of Gambia). They have similar burial customs and some, including the Sereres, still bury their dead in tumuli like those of the Niger region. The mountain peoples (in 1906) retained almost intact their system of government, which was theocratic and elective. The ruler, called

³¹ This is the French name for the Foulbé (sing. Poullo) which means the 'dispersed ones', a very apt name.

³² Information from label in Musée de l'Homme and from Baumann, 1948, 390 ff.

³³ Engeström, 1954. I have read only the review in *L'Anthropologie*, LIX, 1955, 547.

³⁴ 1949, 8, 36-7.

³⁵ 1926, 167.

³⁶ 1906, 87-9.

Hogom or Hogon, had great powers, civil and religious, and though he did not wield military power directly, the war leader was under his orders. (This is very like the Guanche system.) In the 14th century the Portuguese sent an embassy to the Hogom, who ruled the Morchis. The remains of their houses and cultivation-terraces cover a large area south of the Niger bend, in the Volta basin and even as far as Bouna on the Ivory Coast;³⁷ they are regarded by Desplagnes as akin to the building methods and agricultural practices of the modern Habbés. The Diolas of Cazamance build houses of shaped stone and clay mortar, with an upper storey, decorated with female figures and breasts and with representations of animals, usually an iguana. Desplagnes considers that these remnants were driven out of the extensive region they formerly occupied by invading Ganatha and Mandes and later by nomad Berbers, Touaregs and Peuls.

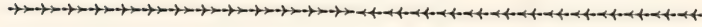
An interesting glimpse of the religion of some of the less advanced tribes of West Africa in A.D. 1447 is given by Malfant, writing (in Latin) from the oasis of Touat (Adrar; Lat. 28° N., Long. 0°)³⁸:—To the south of the Mohammedan states are a mass of others inhabited by Negro idolaters, engaged in ceaseless warfare with each other in defence of their law and idolatrous faith. Some worship the sun and others the moon and others the seven planets, fire, or water; others a mirror showing them their faces which they say are gods; others leafy trees to which they sacrifice; others wooden statues and stones which speak through incantations and as they allege, give a reply.

³⁷ Reference is made to E. Ruelle, 'Populations noires du deuxième territoire militaire': Lobi, *L'Anthropologie*, XV, No. 6.

³⁸ De la Roncière, 1925, I, 154.

CHAPTER XI

THE CANARY ISLANDS



COON CALLS THE Canary Islands a 'supremely marginal cultural province' which, when conquered by the Spaniards 'with great difficulty during the 15th century . . . were occupied by a Neolithic population of white racial type'.¹ That description is justified by the survival down to so late a date of an archaic Mediterranean culture, essentially neolithic and intact, though of course not wholly unaffected by occasional outside contacts. To these last must be attributed the rotary and oscillating querns and inscriptions in Libyan characters which cannot be much if at all older than the beginning of the Christian Era.² The inhabitants were called Guanches and spoke a language akin to Berber but with some words which may be pre-Berber and others which are loan-words from Arabic. They practised agriculture and also bred pigs, sheep, and goats, but they had no textiles and wore leather clothing. Both single and collective burial was in use, though not collective burial in megaliths which, unless we include an occasional standing stone, are completely absent. The dead were also mummified and buried in natural caves, wrapped in sheets of leather beautifully sewn together with minute stitches.

I have written (as nearly everyone does) as if the Guanche culture had remained fixed and unchanging throughout the three or four millennia of its existence, but of course it did not. But unfortunately we cannot yet perceive its changes, which only scientific excavations can reveal—a whole series of them. The archaeology of the islands is still in a very backward state in spite of the heroic, but not uniformly successful, efforts recently made to improve it. No sequence of pottery or other types has been established, and it is therefore impossible to date even approximately the many sites which have been excavated. The evidence for occupation in prehistoric times in the European sense rests solely upon certain resemblances to the Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures of the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts, and possible mentions of the islands by Homer and Hesiod.

Nevertheless these cultural resemblances are by no means negligible, and the evidence, which is consistent and cumulative, seems to show that the earliest inhabitants may have arrived, or at any rate were there, during the 2nd millennium. On *a priori* grounds it is unlikely that they would have remained undiscovered by those enterprising Bronze Age voyagers who explored the western seaboard from Iberia to Orkney.

¹ 1939, 484-5.

² Father R. Charlier kindly informs me in a letter that the Balos inscriptions may perhaps be as early

as the latter half of the first century B.C., but he gives his opinion (based only on photographs) with reservations.

The archaeological evidence consists of rock-carvings, pottery, baetyls and certain clay stamps called *pintaderas*.

The rock-carvings are found in the islands of Gran Canaria, El Hierro (Ferro), Lanzerote, and La Palma (not to be confused with the *town* of Las Palmas, port and capital of Gran Canaria). Excluding the Libyan inscriptions they are of two main kinds. Those of the first kind have affinities with some of the Iberian designs and with others in Africa and may be called the BALOS type, after the place in Gran Canaria where they occur. (There are others of the same kind which I have not seen in El Hierro.) Those of the second are at Garafia and Belmaco in La Palma and may be called the GARAFIA type; a single carving on Lanzerote (Fig. 45) belongs to this group, which has affinities with the carvings of Morocco, Brittany, Ireland, and Denmark.

Barranco Balos³ is a rocky gorge at the extreme south end of the island of Gran Canaria; the torrent flowing down it has formed a stony deltaic fan at its mouth on the coast, and a short distance above this is a rocky bluff with steep sides of columnar basalt, running east and west. The two main groups of carvings are at the east and west ends respectively. There are about sixteen different kinds of signs; about one third of them can be recognized as meant for the human figure, and of the remainder several may be similarly intended. There are also four signs which have been interpreted as ships (Fig. 44 l) perhaps correctly; but they are on a slab of rock at the west end which is scrawled over with visitors' names, so that their authenticity must be regarded as a little doubtful. All these signs have been made by picking; the width of the lines (or grooves) is about one centimetre, but in some cases the whole body of the figure is shown as a picked surface. Some of the lines appear white, while others are the same brownish red colour as the rest of the rock surface. I cannot account for this difference, but the fact that the modern scrawls are all white also should make one cautious. I do not suggest that visitors *made* the designs, but they may have 'improved' them by picking them out with whatever tool they used to write their names with. Besides these picked designs are three or four away from the two main groups in a sort of cove on the south side, near the east end of the bluff. These consist of thin radiating lines, scratched not picked, on a smooth rock surface. There are two of these 'stars', one above the other, on the east side of the cove, the lower one having very long rays below. Above them is a human figure with arms extended and turned downwards, shown not in outline but by picking away the surface. Another 'star' can plainly be seen on the west side and there may be one also below it, but the lines are faint and confused.

Whether these differences, described above, of colour and appearance indicate a difference of age might possibly be discovered by a careful, almost microscopic, examination, but I rather doubt it. What seems certain is that the Libyan inscription (Pl. 33) at the west end was carved *before* the fir-tree sign which overlies and partly obliterates it. This proves that the fir-tree sign, and presumably also some or all of the others, cannot have been made much if at all before the beginning of the Christian Era.

The drawings shown here (Fig. 44) are all, except the 'ship' l, probably intended for human figures. In *a* the five fingers of the right hand are unmistakable; those of the left,

³ For a description of the Balos carvings see Hernández, 1945.



FIG. 44. Chief motives of the rock-carvings at Balos, Gran Canaria.

though visible, are less easy to distinguish. (I first saw this figure on my photograph after I had returned home.) The rake-like arms of *d* also have five dependent strokes, so that the rakes without bodies (*e* and *f*) may be aberrant forms of hands;⁴ *d* has a median line between the legs indicating sex; *b* is not unlike the design on a Sicilian pot (Fig. 9), and the two circles at the top may stand for eyes. *j* has the same elongated

⁴ Identical five-pronged symbols are painted on the doors and walls of houses in Marrakesh as a protection against the Evil Eye; they represent hands. See Westermarck, 1926, I, 448-9, Figs. 43-8,

and p. 104 above. For numerous other African parallels, some very close, see Frobenius, 1925, Pls 22, 26, 86, 87.

head or hair as some of the Spanish and African figures. *a* is a recognizable human figure. At Qalaat el Wish in northern Kordofan is a matchstick human figure with fingers shown and two circles for the feet, and another consisting of a cross standing on a small circle; some of the other figures have the sex indicated as at Balos.⁵ The rake-like arms and fingers of *d* may be compared with a somewhat similar convention at Los Gavilanes in Spain.⁶ The two fir-tree signs of *g* remind one, by reason of their position at opposite ends of a 'box', of the painting on an Italian pot (Fig. 11).

It may be objected that these similarities are not of much value if the Balos designs are no older than the 1st century B.C. at the earliest, whereas some at least of the others are considered to be far older. Admitted that there is some force in the objection, but it may be argued that the designers could have come from Africa, where artistic conventions, like styles of pottery, survived longer than in Europe. In any case the resemblances are numerous and real and must be accounted for.

Certain features are unrepresented at Balos; there are no obvious animal designs, on concentric circles or arcs, and no cup-marks or interrupted circles. As a whole the designs convey the impression of being a hotch-potch with a strong African flavour.

The rock-carvings in the island of La Palma are much more relevant to the main theme of this book. Two sites only are known at present, but there must surely be others awaiting discovery. The first is at Garafia in the north-west part of the island; it was found in 1948 during a survey by the Seminario de Historia Primitiva organized by Professor Martínez Santa Olalla and recorded in a preliminary report by Señor Bernardo Sáez Martín.⁷ There is no road to the site, which can be reached only by a very rough track some two hours' journey from the nearest town (Paso). For that reason, much to my regret, I was unable to visit it. My description is therefore based upon a photograph reproduced in the report. The designs are carved upon a rock surface and consist of spirals, multiple arcs and parallel lines within multiple arcs. The pattern is very well executed and forms a complicated and closely interwoven network which cannot be described in words. As Señor Martín points out, it is of the same type as the carvings at Gavr Inis and those on the Boyne Passage Graves; the resemblance is so close that there must, it seems, be some connection between them; and although there is only this stylistic evidence for the date of the Garafia (and Belmaco) carvings, it would seem probable that they are more or less contemporary with their northern analogues. That style is utterly unlike the style of the Balos carvings, both in the pattern of the designs and in their execution. The Garafia designs appear to have been picked, but that is all they have in common with the others.

In the museum at La Palma are some detached stones from Garafia on which concentric circles (not spirals) are carved (Pl. 34). One is a series of perfect circles (34 a);

⁵ *Ant.*, II, 1928, 271, Fig. 3 (first on left in 4th row, seventh in 1st row).

⁶ Breuil, 1935, Fig. 48 (first on left in 1st row).

⁷ Martín, 1948, 127-8, Pl. XXXIII. I wish to thank Professor Santa Olalla not only for sending me a copy of this report, but even more for the facilities which, thanks to his good offices, were

generously provided by the island authorities everywhere. My best thanks are offered to the Cabildos for providing transport and accommodation, and in La Palma to Señor José Hidalgo who took me to Belmaco and showed me the beauties of this lovely island.

the other (34 b) consists of similar circles, imperfect, with an irregular arrangement of curved lines joined to one side of them, very much in the manner of some of the New Grange patterns. There are also in the museum some round-bottomed pots from Garafia, profusely ornamented. One of them⁸ has a row of multiple arcs round the outer edge of the incurving rim and another larger row below it; and there are other pots with similar decoration (Pl. 35 a). The ornament is very well executed in broad and smooth grooves. The pots resemble those of the channelled ware of north-west Europe, but we must beware of using this resemblance for dating purposes because precisely similar ornament is still applied today to pots of a different shape made near Orotava in Tenerife.⁹ The other pot illustrated by Señor Martín has its body covered by horizontal rows of small holes separated by parallel grooves, between which are obliquely set strokes. A third is covered with impressed decoration, possibly made with an indented tool such as that illustrated by Señor Cuscoy,¹⁰ separated by similar horizontal grooves; and a fourth, in Tenerife but from Garafia, has instead of grooves rows of small deeply stabbed triangular holes between which are rows of oblique strokes (Pl. 35 b). There is a strongly African look about the last three pots,¹¹ and while the resemblance of the rock carvings to those of the north-west is a fact, we must not forget that multiple arcs are found also on the Moroccan steles. These pots seem to be modelled on baskets of the coiled type such as that ancient one from Gran Canaria illustrated by Señor Jiménez Sanchez¹² which is identical with those from the neolithic Fayum¹³ and the modern Sudan.¹⁴ Further discussion must await the definitive and full publication which we hope will appear.

The second site is at Belmaco on the east coast a few miles south of the chief town, Santa Cruz de la Palma. It is quite easily accessible, at the entrance of a natural cave by the roadside. The cave is used as a stable and fowl-house by the occupants of an adjacent cottage, and the rock-carvings are between the cottage and the cave, on a slab which has fallen from the overhanging cliff, fortunately with the carvings uppermost (Pl. 36).¹⁵ They are of the greatest interest, and though of the same general character as those at Garafia, they differ in some respects. The designs consist mostly of spirals, but the grooves are much wider and set further apart, and intermingled with them are wavy lines of the now familiar kind (Pl. 37 a). The pattern of one such has a distant resemblance to a goat, but this I think is purely fortuitous; it is merely a variation of the traditional design. There are also several examples, which I verified on the spot, of interrupted concentric circles; a good one can be seen to the right of the 'goat'. Behind and above the 'goat' is a zigzag line with sharp angles.

⁸ Martín, 1948, Pl. XXXIV.

⁹ One such is illustrated in *The Listener*, LIV, 17 Nov. 1955, 843, where a popular account of the archaeology of the Canaries is published.

¹⁰ 1954, Fig. 9 (1).

¹¹ After writing this I read a description of 'neolithic' pottery from Cape Verde which seems to confirm my conjecture: see *L'Anthropologie*, LVI, 1953, 564, note 1, referring to R. Mauny, *BIFAN*, XIII, 1951, 157-67.

¹² 1952, Pl. 8.

¹³ *Ant.*, I, 1927, Pl. IV, opp. p. 332.

¹⁴ Crawford, 1951, 320, note 2.

¹⁵ They are, however, in danger of eventual obliteration by trampling and the weather, and the slab should be removed to a more suitable place. The only published illustrations I have come across are those in Verneau, 1887, 240, Fig. 42; Cuscoy, 1954, Fig. 14; and Hernández, 1955, Fig. 1, opp. p. 112. There is also one in *The Listener*, LIV, 17 Nov. 1955, 843.

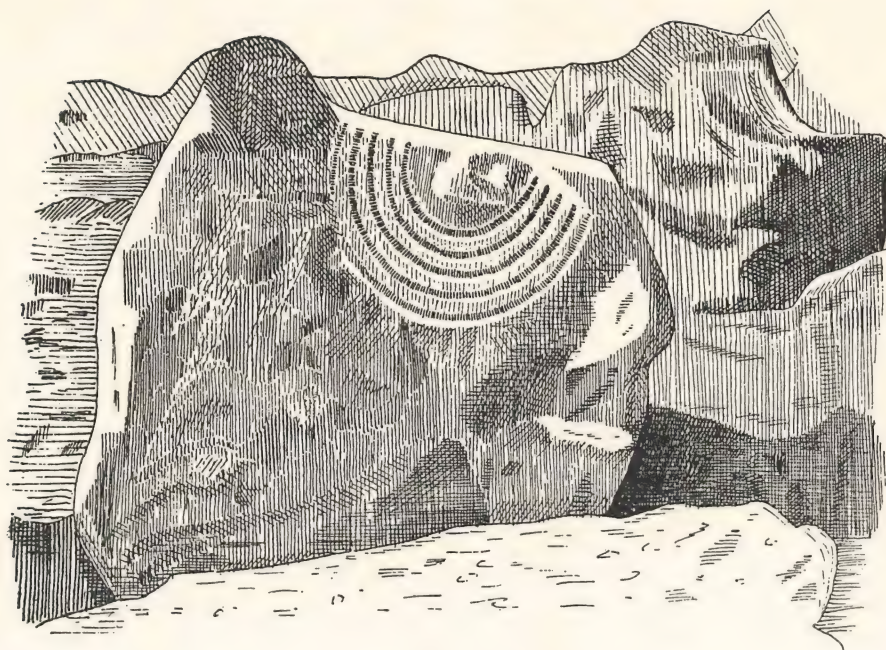


FIG. 45. Multiple arcs on a rock at Lanzerote, Canary Isles.

All these patterns occur in the Passage Grave art of the north-west. The interrupted circle is a Galician motif, but it is found on a Passage Grave at Knowth.¹⁶ The mazes of Hollywood and Tintagel, though not on Passage Graves, are variations of the same pattern.

The only other rock-carving of the Garafia type is one on a standing stone in the island of Lanzerote (Fig. 45). It consists of multiple arcs whose open ends face upwards to the top of the stone. An almost identical pattern occurs on the kerb of the cairn at Knowth. Octobon¹⁷ illustrates examples of these upward-open arcs on long cists (*allées couvertes*) at Boury (Oise), dolmen d'Areny, Dampmesnils, and on a destroyed 'dolmen' in the Forêt de Meudon (Seine) called La Pierre aux Moines (Clamart). The first two have two breast-knobs as well, thus conclusively proving that the arcs represent necklaces. There is another precisely similar set at Bou Sengoun, 320 kilos. S.S.E. of Oran in Algeria (Lat. 33°, Long. 0°). Associated with it are Libyan altars, hands, and animal representations.¹⁸

Whatever the origin and significance of these rock-carvings of the Garafia type I am convinced that they must indicate some community of cult with the other regions where similar designs occur, and that they are evidence of extensive voyaging during the European Bronze Age.

¹⁶ Macalister, 1943, Figs 6 (16), 8 (24), 10 (33). For the multiple arcs mentioned in the next paragraph see Pl. XII, Fig. 1.

¹⁷ 1931, Figs XLV, XLVII. See also Kendrick, 1925, Figs 9, 10.

¹⁸ Frobenius and Obermaier, 1925, Pl. 83.

From these apparent contacts with adjacent lands it is perhaps legitimate to presume that the Canary Islands had already been visited by Mediterranean mariners during the 2nd millennium. The legend of Heracles seems to confirm this presumption; for Heracles belongs to the late Mycenaean world. He flourished before the Trojan war, and one of his labours was to fetch the golden apples of the Hesperides, which ever since classical times have been identified with the Canary Islands. It would not be at all surprising if one day archaeological evidence of Mycenaean visitors were unearthed there, for we know that Mycenaean trade-goods reached Cornwall and Ireland.

Perhaps the most striking cult-object is a female figurine with enormously distended limbs (Pl. 38). She is obviously related to the fat women of Malta (Pl. 13) and others elsewhere, and may in fact represent the goddess of the fertility cult itself. The figurine (which has been mended) is hollow and is made of red burnished pottery just like that still made at Atalaya and Orotava. The red colour is due to a powder made from red volcanic earth. There were many of these figurines found in the older excavations but only the heads and necks of the rest seem to have been preserved.¹⁹

Further evidence of a community of cult is provided by the baetyls found in Gran Canaria. Several of these about 2 feet high are preserved in the museum of Dr Pedro Hernández attached to the church of Telde, south of Las Palmas. Unfortunately there is no record of the circumstances of their discovery, but Dr Hernández informs me that they seem to be associated with caves (possibly sepulchral) and with cave-dwellings. I am afraid I cannot see on them the eyes, nose and mouth which he does; the marks seem to me to be accidental. No one would be more pleased than myself to think otherwise!

In the Telde Museum, and also of course in the Museo Canario at Las Palmas, are some excellent examples of the stamps of baked clay called *pintaderas*. These are found also in Liguria and in West Africa.²⁰ Their use is unknown; similar stamps are used today by the Berbers to mark the clay seals on the doors of collective granaries. On the Ivory Coast they are used to mark a clay covering smeared over a diseased part of the body, to alleviate pain, and in Grand Bassam (French Guinea) they are similarly used on the weekly fetish day. On the Gold Coast and at Dakar they are used for stamping cloth. A medico-magical function would seem most probable for the Canary examples, for they had no cloth and no sealings have been found. It should be added, as a warning, that similar *pintaderas* are found in Mexico.

Besides the impressed pottery already mentioned quite a lot of fine painted pottery has been found on ancient sites in Gran Canaria. None of the published illustrations do justice to it. The patterns are quite clearly visible but not easy to photograph; what is required is of course colour photographs. Failing those, a few really careful drawings would help. The designs recall those of southern Italy and Greece; there are for instance rows of triangles *en échelon* just like those of Thessaly.²¹ An unlabelled handled jug in the Las Palmas museum (Case 11) is ornamented on the body with round red discs,

¹⁹ Illustrations in Jiménez Sanchez, 1952 (Pls 1, 5), 1953 (Pl. XI, 2 a); Cuscoy, 1954, Fig. 13.

²⁰ T. Monod, *Ampurias*, VI, 1944; *L'Anthropologie*, LIX, 1955, 181.

²¹ Childe, 1950 (a), 39, Fig. 22.

one having a serrated edge; and one from Aldea de San Nicolas has on its base a design of concentric circles with four sets of off-set lines.²² Some of the painted pottery has Mediterranean affinities, but there are many different kinds, none of them even approximately dated; the same remarks would apply to the Kabyle painted pottery which is still being made.

The burial customs of the Guanches were of several kinds, not necessarily contemporary. They practised collective burial in natural caves, and there have also been found great quantities of mummified bodies sewn up in leather or in reed mats and likewise buried in caves. Other burials were in cairns. Just outside the fishing village of Galdar on the north-west coast of Gran Canaria, near Agaëte, Señor Jiménez Sanchez excavated some round burial cairns which were constructed in concentric stages with a stepped ramp leading up to the central erection. The primary interment was in a long grave below ground covered with slabs of stone, and seems to have consisted of a single body. Round the outside of this central stepped tower were concentric walls between and outside which were other similar graves. Some of these cairns were excavated in 1934 and others again in 1942.²³ Grave-goods were almost entirely absent, though a pot is said to have been found in a grave by the earlier excavators, and there were remains of wooden coffins and of perishable materials. The resemblance of these cairns to those of the Sahara is so close as to justify inferring a cultural connection, and perhaps an immigration.²⁴

It may seem rather absurd to compare these humble tombs with the stately brick mastabas of the first rulers of Egypt. But the latter may have developed from a much simpler prototype which might just as well have originated in Libya as anywhere else. These mastabas are of course rectangular, but if we take that of Udimu of the 1st dynasty,²⁵ analyse its plan and (reversing the old problem) turn it into a circle, we find the same elements—a central grave below ground enclosed within two walls between which are other graves; and the ramp is there too.

To sum up:—The Guanche culture lasted for two or three millennia and must have altered and absorbed outside influences during its existence. There is evidence of connections with the European Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures which may one day be found to be contemporary; some of this points to a community of cult. Figurines of fat women indicate that there was a fertility cult. Burial cairns (probably much later in date) prove a close connection between Gran Canaria and Africa. Though there are no megaliths it is not unreasonable to suppose that some elements of some of the cults practised elsewhere by megalithic peoples reached the Canary Islands at a time when those cults were very much alive.

²² Jiménez Sanchez, 1953, Pl. XI, Fig. 1.

²³ Jiménez Sanchez, 1946, 28–34, Pls 1–16.

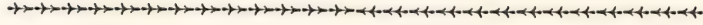
²⁴ For Saharan cairns see Foureau-Lamy, 1905, and Schirmer's review-article, 1906, 38, Fig. 7 (plan of burial-cairn at Aoudjidit). See also Breuil, 1934, 320, where diagrammatic plans are reproduced.

Much as they would help my present thesis I cannot accept the Abbé's views on them.

²⁵ *Illustrated London News*, 19 March 1955, 500, and of course Professor Emery's publications. Perhaps a more likely influence is to be found in the round tombs of classical date; see Rowe, 1956, Fig. 1.

CHAPTER XII

SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA



IT IS A FAR CRY from the Canaries to Ethiopia—nearly four thousand miles in fact; and from Ethiopia to Syria is well over two thousand. Today it is a remote and inaccessible region where travel is difficult. The country is unsurveyed, and the maps compiled from travellers' reports are necessarily meagre and inaccurate, so that it is difficult to describe, and even sometimes to locate, the monuments that have been recorded—doubtless a mere fraction of those that exist. For some time I hesitated whether to include any account of them in this book, partly because it seemed doubtful whether they have really any bearing on the main theme, partly because, while the age of some is unknown, others are still being made today. I finally decided to include them chiefly because of their intrinsic interest, which is great, but also because they are very little known; descriptions of them are scattered through a number of publications some of which are not easy to consult in England. I must also admit to a strong suspicion that there may be some long-distance connection with the cult which originated, as I hold, in the lands east of the Mediterranean. Any such connection, if it existed, must have occurred long ago and far away. Perhaps the wish is father to the thought. I should therefore state quite clearly at the outset that no such connection can be proved. Whereas I am quite convinced that the cult reached Iberia, the Canaries, and the north-west, and think that it probably entered and crossed the Sahara, I regard the penetration of Ethiopia as no more than a possibility. Further research is needed, both archaeological and anthropological. The problem of age will not be settled even by one or two properly conducted excavations, for an archaeological sequence must first be established. Anthropological research, to give results of value, should not be conducted 'in the air', but with roots (and boots) in the soil and with a due regard for the monuments, some of which, though certainly ancient, are still the objects of a cult.

The region where the monuments are found is that of the Rift Valley lakes, from Lake Zuwai, seventy miles south of Addis Ababa in the north to Lake Stephanie (Chalbe) on the Kenya border in the south. Here are the southern foothills of the great Ethiopian mountain massif; though, as I have said, it is by modern standards remote and inaccessible, it is not cut off from the countries lying to the north-east and north-west by any insuperable barriers; and in earlier times, before the establishment of rigid political frontiers, when slow movements of infiltration could take place, there could have been nothing to prevent the influx of influences, and even of whole tribes, from outside.

In the present state of our knowledge—or rather ignorance—about these Southern Ethiopian monuments all opinions expressed about them are merely guesswork and of

little value; this is just as true of my own as of others. Some of the monuments have been proved by Azais to be associated with burials and that is about all we know. For convenience I shall classify them as phallic menhirs, stone slabs, and burial cairns; but this classification is purely formal and includes under one heading monuments that may differ widely in age.

The *phallic menhirs* usually occur in groups. They were first recorded in 1906;¹ a full account with illustrations was published in 1931 by Azais and Chambard;² and in 1952 Dr Hugh Scott added a valuable Appendix about them (and kindred monuments) to his description of the flora of the Gughé Highlands.³ They are formed of stone which has been worked to a smooth rounded shape and are from 6 to 10 feet high; one (now broken) may have been as much as 14 feet high. Dr Scott found four groups in Sidamo within less than a mile of one another, at or near Alata north-east of Dilla and east of Lake Margherita (Abaya). 'These total 50 or 60 large stones, but less than a dozen are still standing.' Some of the menhirs have what appear from the photographs to be cup-marks carved on them;⁴ others have cups with radiating lines, symmetrically arranged, on the middle part of the stone; above some of them are parallel horizontal grooves.⁵ Dr Scott took a photograph (his No. 142) of two phallic menhirs south of Soddu in Wolāmo Province, round whose tops were bound strands of white cotton, showing that they are still the objects of a cult. He records that cotton is used for votive offerings among the wholly or partly pagan people of Wolāmo and Gamo Provinces; north of Borroda he saw beside the track two large wild fig-trees whose trunks were bound with cotton strands, and there were similar strands tied to the branches of a solitary *Euphorbia* beside the mountain road south of Borroda, at whose foot is a large cairn. 'Each passer-by knelt and added a stone [to the cairn], bowing at the same time towards a distant church . . . doubtless on some pre-Christian sacred rite.' He mentions similar examples of cotton offerings to sacred trees.⁶ Hodson observed the same custom, which he said was 'done to bring good luck—for example, by a man who wishes his wife to present him with a son'.⁷ In Galla districts sacred trees and stones are anointed with butter and have trinkets deposited at them as offerings. Mr Omer-Cooper photographed such a stone in 1926 in the crater of Mount Zuquāla, twenty-eight miles south of Addis Ababa; on its flat top were beads, copper rings, and necklaces, and early one morning it was visited by a group of Galla men who chanted at it. The sides of the stone were smeared with *ghi*. A missionary told him that in another place in the south-west stones are visited early in the morning at certain seasons and rites performed.⁸ Dr Scott also

¹ De Bozas, 1906, 246–7.

² Azais and Chambard, 1931.

³ Scott, 1952. I have to thank Dr Scott for calling my attention to his monograph published by the Linnean Society (£2 2s.); I have drawn freely upon it in what follows. I have also to thank him for allowing me to reproduce some of his photographs.

⁴ E.g. Kammerer, 1926, Pl. 45 and Dr Scott's photographs numbered 118 and 319 (my Pl. 39 a). Amongst the Azais photographs in the Musée de l'Homme is a fallen menhir (44:255:13) on which are two parallel rows of cup-marks, probably made

after the stone had fallen. As will be seen later, cup-marks are subsequent in date to the stone slabs.

⁵ Kammerer, 1926, Pl. 44 (drawings of ten stones thus ornamented); 40 and 41 (photos., Alata). My description follows the drawings, but the designs on the stones photographed are not amongst them.

⁶ Scott, 1952, 173–4, Pl. 17.

⁷ Hodson, 1927, 28.

⁸ Information in a letter from Dr Scott, who says that this place *may* have been situated in the Baco district; he did not see it himself.

saw rags hanging in trees in Gamo, and he records one case where monkey-skins were so hung (Pl. 45).

This custom of hanging rags in trees was once very common in Britain and Europe, especially near wells and springs; in England it was still practised as late as 1934.⁹ Cup-marks are common on European megaliths and natural rocks, and the custom of adding a stone to a cairn is very widespread but too natural to have much significance.

Phallic stones have been found at Herirat in British Somaliland, and it has been suggested that they may be due to a Galla invasion from the south-west. They are now set up on graves, but it is thought possible that their position there is secondary, and that they were originally set up independently and being found handy were re-used to mark the graves. The present inhabitants are nomads and do not carve stone.¹⁰ This seems a likely explanation, and it is in agreement with the Southern Ethiopian practice already mentioned. Some connection with the Southern Ethiopian menhirs seems probable.

The Ethiopian *stone slabs* are all ornamented with carved designs, well executed and sometimes quite elaborate. Some of them are gravestones or memorials to record the prowess of the dead man in war or hunting. 'Though some of the stones looked recent, others appeared to Colonel Curle to have been renovated, and the colouring in the grooved designs renewed. He noted an ochreous colour used for this purpose.' The colouring matter, both ochreous and black, is derived from the berries of local plants.¹¹ Though the slabs are thus fully integrated with the modern culture of the Arussi and Kambāta peoples, some at least appear from their condition to be ancient. There are two main groups known at present: (1) those with representations of the human figure; and (2) those with rows of daggers or a single dagger only. There are others with geometric designs, but some of these designs are certainly derived from the more realistic ones of the second group.

The human figure is represented in more than one style; the examples described and illustrated here are typical of many others. One from Silté in Guraghe (west of Lake Zuwai and about eighty miles south of Addis Ababa) has the top broken off, but originally no doubt had on it a conventional head carved in the round like the rest (Pl. 40 a). There are two sets of multiple arcs, the upper consisting of three and the lower of eleven strings of beads. On each side of the lower necklace is a round disc for a breast, and below it are the forearms and hands. The lower half of the slab is covered with representations of objects, including what seems to be a spear and a design like a palm-tree. At some subsequent date a double row of cup-marks has been hollowed out over the designs. Rows of cup-marks, often double, constantly recur at all times and periods. There are several examples in the French cave of Les Trois Frères,¹² and another on Mograt Island in the Nile near Abu Hamed.¹³ Azais photographed one in Ethiopia.¹⁴ There is another on one of the stones of the megalithic tomb at Seskilgreen in Ireland.¹⁵

⁹ *Ant.*, IX, 1935, 471, Pl. 5. (It is now being superseded by the scattering of paper and food-vessels at beauty spots.)

¹⁰ *Ant.*, XI, 1937, 352-4, Pls 5-8. One of these stones is now in the Ethnographic Department of the British Museum.

¹¹ Scott, 1952, 172-3.

¹² Breuil, 1952, Fig. 124.

¹³ *Kush*, I, 1953, 6.

¹⁴ Musée de l'Homme, photo. 44:255:13.

¹⁵ Breuil, 1934, 301, Fig. 15.

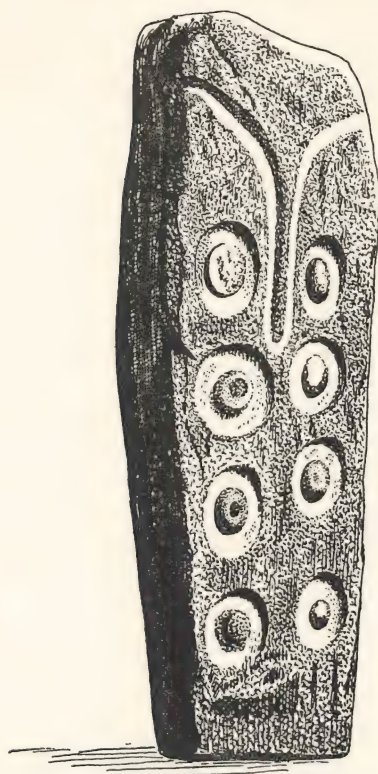


FIG. 46. Carved stele in Arbore region, Southern Ethiopia.

A somewhat similar slab from the same district¹⁶ (Pl. 40 b) has in the middle between the hands an object probably intended to represent a gaming-board of the kind still made (but now rare) by the Arbore, a people living on the river Sagan north of Lake Stephanie; beside it is a straight-handled comb with five teeth which is exactly like an Arbore comb.¹⁷ The parallel is reinforced by a stone slab¹⁸ (Fig. 46) of the same type as the Arussi ones; its face is ornamented with two vertical rows of four deeply cut round grooves, above which is a V-shaped sign like one from Silté.¹⁹ It was found near Gonderaba 'under a heap of stones, probably a grave'. The representation of objects still made and used today (if they be so) should warn us not to claim any great age for these slabs. On the other hand primitive culture is conservative, and examples have been recorded of common objects remaining unchanged for millennia.²⁰

Another slab from Silté (Pl. 41 a) has the head still in position on the top; the hands are similarly disposed, and below them is the 'palm tree'; along the base is a diaper-pattern of intersecting grooves. Four later cup-marks run obliquely across the middle.

¹⁶ Kammerer, 1926, Pl. 23 (right). There is another photograph of this stone amongst those in the Azais collection, showing it with the broken-off head replaced.

¹⁷ Illustrations in *RSE*, IX, 1950, Pl. XIII, 4, 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 37, Pl. XIV.

¹⁹ Kammerer, 1926, Pl. XXIV, 1.

²⁰ See for example the Mallorcan and Egyptian grass brushes (*Ant.*, VII, 1933, 90, Pl. 5) and the baskets mentioned above, p. 128.

Yet another type of slab has the upper part of the human figure (including the head) carved in low relief on its face (Pl. 39 b). The head is a round disc with three vertical ribs across it, between which are two small circles representing the eyes. The neck is straight, and the arms, instead of being laid across the chest, are upraised. Below are two more or less triangular attachments (legs?) with a much smaller one between them. The pattern seems to end with these, but the lower parts of this and the next slab are buried in the ground.

Another kind (illustrated by Kammerer)²¹ has the head carved in the round and a huge nose-like beak on the breast set in the middle of the slab. A better photograph (Pl. 41 b) shows the same two kinds of necklaces as on the first-described slab (Pl. 40 a), and below a pattern of side-chevrons and diagonally crossing lines; the head is missing.

The slabs ornamented with carvings of daggers²² do not have heads or human figures, but they are linked with those that do by the 'palm-tree' sign, by the sign like a St Andrew's cross and by one like a capital H placed on its side. Two slabs have two rows of daggers, those in the lower row pointing upwards. Two others have a single dagger, one with the 'palm-tree' sign below and the other with two breast-like knobs and the H as well. One would like to know whether daggers of this type are still in use locally. Breuil regards those on the slabs as representing iron weapons, and he is probably right, but one would like to have confirmation.

All the carved stones hitherto mentioned appear to be old, though their age may well have to be measured in centuries rather than in millennia. Others appear to be still manufactured, though there is no positive proof of this. Dr Scott discovered some west of Shashamanna between Lakes Hora Shala and Awasa (Pl. 42 a). They were set round the base of a burial-cairn consisting of three tiers with a standing stone on the top^{22a}; the stones of the cairn seem to be set in some kind of mortar, and there is an aperture in the upper part of the lowest tier. It is said to be the monument of an Arussi chief who was also a Muslim, 'an unusual combination'. The arrangement in tiers is a common device employed by primitive peoples to obtain greater height without sacrificing stability; it occurs in the Sahara, the Canaries, Spain, and the Orkneys,²³ and cannot be cited as evidence of long-distance cultural connections. The standing stone on the top is also an obvious embellishment; New Grange is said to have had one. Dr Scott illustrates another²⁴ with a mushroomlike head on the top of a conical single-tiered tomb of a Kambata chief, east of Bulghita (Shoné). The designs on the slabs set round the cairn seem to be related to some of those just described, which were presumed to be older. The design on the middle slab of Pl. 42 a is rather like that on Pl. 39 b with upraised arms, and it is plainly a conventionalized human figure, and the slabs on each side seem to be the same. It may be observed that the arms on the middle slab have the same median groove as those on Pl. 39 b.

The two slabs shown on Plate 42 b are about 3 feet high and are set with two others

²¹ Kammerer, 1926, Pl. XXV, 1.

²² Kammerer, Pls XXII, XXIII, XXIV, 2.

^{22a} A similar tiered cairn, with similarly ornamented slabs set round it, is illustrated (in colour) in Busk, 1957, Pl. 7, but it is not stated where the cairn is!

²³ See for instance Leisner's restoration (1943, Pl. 85, 7) and Piggott, 1954, Fig. 37 and pp. 244 ff.; R. C. Orkney, Nos 410, 449, 570, 893 (I, Pl. 19).

²⁴ 1952, Pl. 28, bottom.

round a small heap of rough stones, 'probably a grave', near Shashamanna.²⁵ The designs are not obviously anthropomorphic.

North of Shashamanna, Dr Scott found one of these slabs standing alone with no signs of a cairn, and having five tall poles set up beside it; on them are hung 'trophies' (or offerings?) consisting of 'skins stretched on sticks and an inverted earthenware vessel' (Pls. 44 and 45). The designs on the stones closely resemble those on the phallic menhirs, but again it would be risky to draw conclusions, because it is possible that the designs may have been added later to the menhirs, which are still regarded as cult-objects. The bark on the poles has been removed in alternate bands; in Wolāmo similar poles are erected by the owners of fields and have attached to them inverted pots, the skulls of oxen, rags, and other things. Hodson²⁶ illustrates a row of similar poles commemorating a dead warrior near Lake Hora Daka, the easternmost of the two lakes south of Lake Zuwai. In the Gughé mountains Dr Scott observed 'curious erections of bamboo in certain fields of young barley'; he was told that they were to warn off trespassers, or to protect the crops against those who would damage or steal, but he suspected (surely rightly) that they had been set up to avert the Evil Eye or for some other occult purpose. These things are of almost world-wide distribution, and are the ancestors of our own modern scarecrows. Whatever their exact purpose there can be no doubt about a connection between these Ethiopian 'scarecrows' and the poles set up beside the memorial stone. Assuming that the latter was either erected over a tomb or as a memorial of a dead person—and the other slabs support this assumption—we have here a most valuable and interesting living link between an agricultural and a funerary cult, of the kind that forms part of the main theme of this book.

Besides these phallic menhirs and stone slabs Azais found dolmens in the country of the Ogaden Somalis about ninety miles south-east of Harar. One which he excavated yielded human bones, potsherds, a silver ring, and a heavy metal bead. Kammerer reproduces an illustration of one at Sourré (his Pl. XXI). It consists of a large slab of stone supported by smaller ones set on edge. Small dolmens are still built in the southern part of the Sudan near the Bahr el Jebel by the people of Misé and Madi.²⁷ They have even been recorded as far south as the Ruvuma country on the frontier between Tanganyika and Portuguese East Africa. 'These are known as *ndwika* and a native informant knew of three of them. . . . The people say that it is the work of spirits. It has been there for a long, long time. Even the oldest men cannot remember the time when it was not there.'²⁸ Dolmens have also been recorded in Madagascar.²⁹

To attempt to connect the monuments just described with the religious beliefs of the present inhabitants would be a most interesting task, but it is one that can only be carried out in the field by an anthropologist. I do not think this has been done, nor does there seem to be anything but scattered references to the subject. Now and then we

²⁵ Scott, 1952, 172, Pl. 28, top.

²⁶ 1927, Pl. opp. p. 264, bottom. I photographed one at Eshery in Abkhazia (Caucasus) to which were attached two skulls, one being of an ox or cow, and two round wreath-like affairs.

²⁷ Evans-Pritchard, 1935.

²⁸ Evans-Pritchard, 1935, 159, Pl. 5, opp. p. 160.

²⁹ *Anthropos*, XIV-XV, 1919-20, quoted by Evans-Pritchard, 1935, 160.

catch a glimpse of some belief or custom that one day may link up with some prehistoric cult in the north. The Galla are said to preserve remains of 'the religion of the ancient Hamites', worshipping a supreme deity called Wak or Waka, and a Solar deity Adu. After death people become spirits and go to a world under the earth. Two deities of a lesser kind, the god Oglie and the goddess Atetié, represent the creative forces of nature.³⁰ Atetié is easily confused with the Virgin Mary. The two are opposed to each other (like Anat and Mot?). Trees play an important part in Galla ritual, being regarded as the givers of fertility. 'Other elements are serpent worship, the concept of the Evil Eye and of magic animals (the hyaena).'³¹ The inhabitants of Wolamo used to bury a living person with the body of anyone of high rank.³² The people of Konso, south of Lake Chamo, between it and the Arbore people on the Sagan river, place effigies of the dead man and his wife on the middle of his grave, both naked, and on each side of it place images of the people and animals killed by him. 'An Abyssinian is always shown riding a mule, and there are also distinctive postures or characteristics for the Boran and the natives of Sidamo. There are conventional signs for elephant, lion, giraffe, rhinoceros, so that a native can tell at a glance the bag of the dead man.'³³ In a footnote Henry Balfour (formerly curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford) mentions 'the description given by Aristotle of the Iberian practice of erecting around a warrior's grave obelisks to the number of the enemies slain by the deceased'. (Were these things baetyls?)

An underworld of shades, contending deities, sacred trees, serpents, the Evil Eye, a tally of killings—it's a mixed bag, but it has a flavour of the archaic religion we are studying.

It may be thought that, in suggesting some community of cult in this vast region extending almost if not quite from the equator to the Mediterranean and Atlantic, I am straining the evidence and trying to extract from it more than it can properly yield. Well, time will show. I can see no reason why an area which is homogeneous in both language and race should not be so also in religion. The bulk of the population is fundamentally Mediterranean, according to Coon, and Sergi, inventor of that race, said the same long ago. The languages are Hamitic, which 'when applied to East Africa, is equivalent to Cushitic'.³⁴ There are of course varieties of the Mediterranean race, and there are linguistic differences, nor are all the cults uniform. But that is what always happens. There was just the same homogeneity of language and religion throughout the whole area covered by the early Indo-Europeans.

Note. While this book was in the press I received from Monsieur Leclant, the official archaeologist at Addis Ababa, an offprint from the newly founded *Annales d'Éthiopie*, Vol. I, 53–5, Pls XVIII to XX, describing two newly found carved stone heads from Sidamo. The heads have a somewhat phallic appearance, but they are clearly meant to represent heads, for the eyes are shown by two round knobs, with a beaky nose between.

³⁰ Cerulli, 1930, I, 42.

³¹ Baumann, 1948, 287.

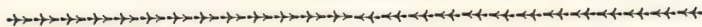
³² Hodson, 1927, 28.

³³ Hodson, 1927, 40, and Plate opposite; Busk, 1927, 124.

³⁴ Coon, 1939, 445.

CHAPTER XIII

MODERN SURVIVALS



AT THE BEGINNING of this book I described the remains of a temple at Brak in Syria where Professor Mallowan found evidence of the cult of an Eye Goddess, assigned to about 3000 B.C., and reasons were given for the belief that it was primarily an agricultural fertility cult which spread westwards and was associated with burial rites. In the East we have later the great advantage of written documents, but elsewhere the evidence is archaeological only; we can merely infer the existence and nature of the cult from the tangible remains which have survived. To that extent its study demands not only an intimate knowledge of archaeological method but also an almost encyclopaedic knowledge of the prehistory of a huge area. On the other hand, the cult itself belongs to the study of ancient religions. No one can be master of both spheres; and the subject of modern survivals is for that reason a difficult one for an archaeologist to handle. Nevertheless this book would be incomplete without some mention of them, however brief and inadequate. My qualifications are very far from being encyclopaedic, and they are even more handicapped by residence in the country, without easy access to libraries.

Of all the survivals of the eye-cult the most striking is to be found in Syria itself. It consists of a charm (Pl. 46) hung in their cars by drivers, formed of an alum crystal¹ of triangular shape, inverted, and adorned with coloured and segmented beads and bits of tinfoil. To the crystal itself is attached an inverted crescent in two parts, the point of junction covered by a tinfoil disc; or does it represent a pair of horns? From each of the sides hangs a leaf-shaped piece of tinfoil with indented edges, and a heart-shaped locket with a realistic glass eye set in the middle. From the inverted apex of the triangle a small hand is suspended. Here in fact we have the eye-cult still functioning in its original home and associated with other magic symbols.

But that is not all. On the walls of some of the conical corbelled houses characteristic of the Aleppo region² there are hung charms consisting of plaited corn-stalks with the ears of grain still attached. These are the corn dollies that have long been familiar to European folk-lore students; the Syrian examples may have been described before, but I owe my knowledge of them to a reader of *Antiquity* who sent me a photograph of one hanging on the inside wall of one of the houses. I at once wrote to Mr Paul Copeland, then of the American College at Aleppo, asking for further information; not only did he obtain this but he also secured and sent me three excellent specimens of the dollies

¹ For the use of alum as a protection against the Evil Eye in Mediterranean lands from Morocco to Egypt see Westermarck, 1926, I, 431.

² For which see Copeland, 1955. I wish to thank

Miss Dorothy N. Marshall for first calling my attention to these corn dollies, and both her and Mr Copeland for gifts of them and many other services, culminating in Mr Copeland's articles in *Antiquity*.

(Pls. 43, a and b, 46, 47). At the time of writing this chapter he was preparing an account of them which will in due course be printed in *Antiquity*, so that a detailed description here is unnecessary, and I can confine myself to a few extracts from his letters. He had some difficulty in obtaining these specimens and the information about them, and he rightly suspected that the excuses made were not the real reason for that reluctance, namely, that the dollies were old and dirty and not suitable for presents; worrying about dirt, comments Mr Copeland, is an unusual phenomenon in the East. In spite of explicit denials he suspected an undercurrent of magico-religious taboo, which was confirmed by subsequent revelations. The dollies were 'very old, and we don't know why we make them. Mothers teach their daughters to make them, and they ensure the fertility of the land. They represent the Mother of the Earth, and make sure that the Earth is fertile, just like the woman.' Pieces of coloured tinfoil are attached to the cruciform dollies, one piece on each arm and two on the head, but the makers do not know why this is necessary; 'it is always made that way'. (We may recall the Naga craftsman who used traditional designs without any knowledge of their meaning.) Some of the cruciform dollies have a small conventional human head on the top of the cross and a skirt below, placed over the straw. There was, in the information supplied to Mr Copeland by another villager, some confusion about whether the dollies were made for 'good luck' or to ward off the Evil Eye.

Corn dollies are of course made in many lands, and have often been described. Here I shall merely quote a few examples from my own observation and reading. In the village of Zlokutchene in Bulgaria in 1937 I saw and photographed a tuft of oats with some daisy-like flowers tied to the top of the central pole of the threshing-floor to which the ponies that thresh the corn are attached as they are driven round and round. (Oxen are also so employed in the same village.) For lack of time and language difficulties I could not obtain any information, but it was obviously a corn dolly of some kind.

It is a far cry from Bulgaria to Cornwall, but it is there we find an agricultural fertility rite being still performed in the 19th century. At the harvest an old man or someone else familiar with the ritual goes round the sheaves in the last field to be reaped and picks out a bundle of all the best ears of corn he can find and makes a plaited corn dolly called the Neck of Wheat. A circle is then formed round him and ceremonies performed; hats are removed, arms raised and then heads are bowed and they 'cry the Neck'. Then they all throw their hats in the air and burst into laughter and the girls are kissed. One of the young men gets hold of the Neck and runs off with it to a house. If he can get into the house and evade the girl at the door with a bucket of water he may lawfully kiss her; otherwise he gets a drenching.⁴

When I was a boy the East Woodhay mummers used to call every Christmas and do their little play in our kitchen. The plot was simple and consisted chiefly in a duel between 'old King Jarge' and a 'Turkish Knight', in which both in turn are killed and then brought to life again by a doctor.⁵ The mummers were entirely covered, face and all, by a garb of paper ribbons; and like the Cornish ones they wore 'high caps of pasteboard, adorned with beads, small pieces of looking-glass, coloured paper, etc.'

⁴ Hunt, 1881, 385-6.

⁵ For a full account, with the words, see Hunt, 389-92, quoting *The Every Day Book*.

Here, as it seems to me, we have a ritual ceremony of prehistoric origin that has been kept up-to-date by subsequent 'modernizations'. The Cornish St George—*King George* at East Woodhay—is derived from the Christian version of an ancient pre-Christian cult⁶ which in Bulgaria is plainly concerned with agricultural fertility. The Turkish Knight is probably a medieval importation from the age of the cold war with Islam. Just in this way did our old friend Guy Fawkes (1570–1606) supplant some older villain or victim. These killings and revivals remind us of similar acts in the affairs of Mot and Aleion.

The countries round the shores of the Atlantic and Mediterranean abound in agricultural rites now 'purified' and appropriated by the dominant religion (Christianity or Islam). At Tomar in Portugal the *Festa dos Tabuleiros* is performed in July. Girls 'walk in procession carrying on their heads elaborate towers made of new bread decorated with paper flowers. Then come the clergy bearing silver crowns on black cushions, and lastly a number of garlanded bullocks with golden horns are led along. These are subsequently slaughtered and the meat is given to the poor with the new bread.'⁷ It is interesting to find the sacrifice of bulls, of which (as we have seen) there is some evidence in the megalithic west, still flourishing today, and under ecclesiastical patronage!

These ceremonies seem to have served different purposes; that of the mummers is concerned with the death and resurrection of the crops, whereas the harvest festivals seem intended to ensure the fertility of the earth and of the seed sown in it. The significance of the final act in the Cornish Crying of the Neck is obvious, but what is the meaning of that attempted evasion of the drenching? Rain-making is unnecessary in Cornwall; was it *anti-rain* magic, to secure dry weather for ripening and gathering in the next harvest?

In Ireland corn dollies are called St Brigid's crosses; they are made of plaited straw just like the Syrian ones and many others.⁸ Professor O Riordain found one of them deposited, presumably in pursuance of some traditional custom, in a megalithic burial-chamber in Limerick.⁹ That seems to be a valuable link with our cult, and one could wish that someone would try to find out more about it and whether there is a tradition to explain its meaning and purpose. We have seen that the Eye Goddess has left her mark on the stones of the Passage Graves, and that as the Hag of Bere she still haunts the hills of Lough Crew. Side by side with what may be called her underground survival she exists also above ground, both in Ireland and Brittany, as the Virgin of the Rocks. Outside a church in Drogheda she has a realistic shrine, and there are many similar ones in the megalithic region of Brittany, e.g. at Plœmel (Pl. 48). There we also have direct evidence of the cult of a goddess identified with Venus whose figurines have been found in many of the megaliths. They date from the beginning of this era.¹⁰

⁶ See *Ant.*, XII, 1938, 290–6 (Gawril Kazarow).

⁷ *The Times*, London, 7 April 1956. A detailed description of this ceremony, with good close-up photographs of the bread-towers and bullocks' horns, is badly needed and would form an excellent *Antiquity* article. What offers?

⁸ *Ulster Folklife*, I, 1955, 16.

⁹ *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, I, 1936–9, 36. It had been partially burnt there, but local inquiries produced nothing.

¹⁰ See for instance the Carnac Museum Catalogue, pp. 88, 89, 125, 150, 238, and the Vannes Museum Catalogue, pp. 8, 15, 16, 26.

One could cite many other instances of the survival of the cult, or of features associated with it, but that is hardly necessary as they are recorded in many books and articles. Here therefore I shall only cite a few chosen more or less haphazard.

The obliteration of pictures of the face, particularly of the eyes, is a practice that archaeologists encounter only too often, especially in Egypt. It seems to be done to counteract the influence exercised by the Evil Eye—a term which seems in reality to cover almost all eyes. The representations of eyes on boats is well attested in both ancient and modern times;¹¹ and if the wooden bowl from Caergwrl in Wales,¹² which has eyes on the 'prow', really was meant as the model of a boat (about which I have doubts) then it proves the existence of that custom here in prehistoric times.

Gardner¹³ says that at the meetings of witches 'the women were always naked, but wore either a necklace or a short cape (women witches in Europe lay great stress on necklaces)'. In view of the fact that prehistoric men did the same this may perhaps be important; the persistence of the necklace in imagery is certainly significant, as readers will already have gathered. One would like, however, to have more circumstantial evidence, and some historical links with the prehistoric cult.

Perhaps the best example of the modern survival of a fertility cult is one that comes from an Egyptian fantasia. The fellaheen perform folk-dramas there. In 1913 at Jebel Moya in the Sudan we had Egyptian fellaheen from Quft as foremen of Sir Henry Wellcome's excavations there; and on Friday evenings they would give a show. The acting was really excellent; it was done with the crudest of properties on an open-air stage, by the light of the moon. The acts were mostly scenes of village life on the Nile—embarking on a river-boat, a scene in a restaurant and in a barber's shop. The one so admirably described below has a profounder significance and may well be quoted in full as a suitable conclusion to this book.¹⁴

'Suddenly the Funny Man appeared from nowhere, and straddled before us, posturing and gesturing. He was one of the great characters on the dig, and was always known amongst ourselves as the Funny Man, although I think his name was Khalifa. He was a natural comic, a good-hearted kindly clown, whose near neighbours on the dig, as they dug and shovelled round him, always seemed to be in stitches.

'Now he began to stagger round the courtyard, clutching his head and trembling in every limb, apparently an old, ill man; and then another of the workmen crept into the arena, stalking him silently in the shadow of the walls, until the Funny Man suddenly caught sight of him. Then he leaped into the air with fright, and forgetting his simulation of tottering senility, began to play the clown in good earnest, leaping the column bases, howling and gibbering, bounding backwards and forwards over the courtyard parapet, while we and the entire audience rocked with laughter.

'The end came—the attacker was too much for him—whacks on the head brought him to the ground, and then his assailant finished him off as he lay, and danced away out

¹¹ See for instance Elworthy, 1895, 134 (Malta).

¹² Piggott and Daniel, 1951, Pls 28 and 29.

¹³ 1954, 38.

¹⁴ It is taken, by kind permission of the author,

who took part in the excavations at Amarna conducted by John Pendlebury, from her book, *Nefertiti lived here*, by Mary Chubb (Geoffrey Bles, 1954), pp. 163–6.

of the courtyard. The Funny Man tried hard to sham dead for about half a minute; but there were twitches and kicks and mutterings which produced the laughter he simply couldn't resist playing for. But all the same, Hussein told us firmly, he was quite, quite dead.

'The other actor came slowly back. This time he had a shawl over his head which hid most of his face, and his whole attitude was drooping and sorrowful. "Now he is the dead one's wife", said Hussein. "She is looking for him." Round the courtyard the sad figure moved, carefully not seeing the light-hearted corpse spread out in full view, and irrepressibly wisecracking. Then came the dreadful discovery; and the cloaked figure dropped on its knees and rocked backwards and forwards inconsolably in the moonlight. "Now she has found him", Hussein explained kindly.

'A third actor moved forward from the shadows, and the crowd fell curiously quiet. He wandered about the courtyard, one arm curved round as if it held an invisible basket. The other hand dipped continuously into this hollow and then was flung outwards, now to the front and now to the side, over and over again.

'John suddenly sat up very straight. "He's sowing seed", he whispered very quietly, but full of excitement. "This is *incredible*. I believe they're doing a sort of pantomime version of an old corn-spirit ritual."

'At last the imaginary shower of seed fell upon the dead man. His wife sprang up and began to dance round him, raising arms on high as if in supplication. The body began to roll to and fro, and groan; and laughter came again from the crowd, but raggedly, uncertainly, for now they were touched with something like awe—it seemed as if they knew they were watching some great crisis which they themselves shared in, as if it lay somewhere deep in their own hearts, a subconscious, nameless memory.

'Quickly the dead man gathered strength and vitality and rose to his feet. Then he began to caper about on one of the column bases, shouting words of joy, his face turned up to the stars. Then hopping off, he took his wife's hands and they danced triumphantly round the courtyard, and so away, followed by the sower.

'It was late now. Everyone seemed to take for granted that the strange little mime was the climax of the entertainment. John stood up, and the band stood up too, and played a final stirring tune. Then he went towards the wall, the lamplight shining on his bare head and the blue Cretan cloak. He made a short speech to the throng, and told them that they had worked hard all the season, and he thanked them all—and by God's will we would all come back again soon, and have another fine season.

'"By God's will! By God's will! In sh' Allah! In sh' Allah!" came the shouts; and suddenly one of the Guftis called out that there had never been "a Mudir like his honour the Man"—"Mudir zey genabbu er Ragil." They waved and clapped and laughed; and John lifted a hand in quiet acknowledgement, flushed and perhaps a little tremulous. When we joined him he said: "That's the highest honour I've ever had, or ever hope to have"—and then softly, almost to himself, repeated smiling: "Genabbu er Ragil."

'Hussein came in with beer and sandwiches; and John asked him what he knew about the Funny Man's play. He stood in the doorway, tawny eyes gleaming, his face creased with happy smiles, waving his hands as he tried to explain. It was a story

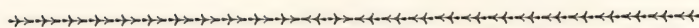
min zamán, min zamán, from long, long ago. Khalifa was the old man, who had to die to save his people. He was slain by a bad man. He died when the corn was ripe. He stayed dead till the seed was sown and the corn was beginning to sprout.

"Who is that old man, really?" John asked. He hesitated a moment. Then: "Some say he is the maize crop and the corn crop."

"Do *you* think that, Hussein?" He looked very grave. "It is just an old story, *min zamán, min zamán*."

'When he had gone we talked it all over, the whole evening, with its enchanting displays of natural unselfconscious talent; but mainly we discussed the mime. We knew we had been privileged to see something strange and wonderful. Ragged and twisted though this surviving shred might be, grotesque and part-ribald, it yet led straight back to the remote ages. Far back beyond the days of Akhenaten himself, yet still a fibrous reality twisted inextricably into the vitals of these living men of today. We had seen it in Hussein's face, whatever he said; heard it in the sudden hush which had fallen on the rough crowd as they watched the miracle of resurrection—of whom? The eyes which had wrinkled with laughter at the Funny Man's fooling had then grown wide with awe. For they had forgotten for the moment their well-known buffoon—they had seen another lying there in his place, waiting for the seed to fall and sprout; one who was nameless to them by now, almost a legend, *min zamán, min zamán*—yet deep down he was real, and they knew him; one who had died violently that they might live, who had given his body to be their food, the dying god—Osiris.'

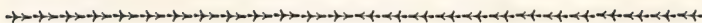
APPENDIX I



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

AEOLIAN ISLANDS	SICILY	MALTA
	<i>BRONZE AGE</i>	
10. c. 1250-1150: Ausonian I: late Bronze Age: horned handles	Early Pantalica I	II c. Early Bahrija: black wares, some relation to Thapsos and later to Ausonian II
		II b. Borg in Nadur: imported LH III b sherd: rel. to Thapsos red wares and back to San Ippolito and Serrafferlicchio
9. c. 1450-1250: Milazzese	Thapsos: Cozzo Pantano (= Late Helladic III a and part of III b)	II a. Tarxien cemetery (rel. to Capo Graziano and Castelluccio)
8. c. 1800 (?) - 1450: Capo Graziano	Castelluccio (= Late Middle Helladic and Late Hell. I and II)	I c. Tarxien: pot-handles like S. Ipp.; carvings etc. like Castelluccio
	<i>COPPER AGE</i>	
7. Piano Quartara (= Early Helladic)	San Ippolito and Conca d'Oro	I b. Ggantija
6. Piano Conte (in Lipari only)	San Cono and Serrafferlicchio	
	<i>NEOLITHIC</i>	
5. Diana. Marmo di Paterno	Megara Hyblaea and Matrensa	I a, 2. Zebbug (pottery like S. Cono: Diana lugs imported)
4. Fine painted ware of Serra d'Alto type	Olletta Monte Pellegrino: Poti in Paterno (= Late Dimini in Greece)	I a, 1 (late). Mgarr, related to late Stentinello
3. Capri style. Early strata of Lipari acropolis	Perhaps continuation of Stentinello	
2. Castellaro at Lipari	Stentinello: late impressed ware associated with first painted pottery (red bands on white) of the Megara Hyblaea style. Matrensa, Trefontane (= Sesklo in Greece)	I a, 1 (early). Ghar Dalam
1. Not found K	Not found	

APPENDIX II



EARLY MIGRATIONS

THE westward movement of the Faces is here attributed to the migration of peoples because it seems unlikely that it could be explained merely by trade-contacts. The movement which carried the cult across or round Anatolia may well have been one of that series which, according to Brea, distributed impressed ware throughout, and even beyond, the Mediterranean basin. Its arrival in Italy may have been brought about by pressure from Dimini folk entering Greece from the north.

The next big wave brought the Castelluccio culture into Sicily. It was just at the time that the first Greek-speaking peoples were arriving, and they may well have started a refugee movement, for there is evidence of widespread plundering and destruction of inhabited sites at the end of the Early Helladic period, soon after 2000 B.C. Hellanicus of Lesbos,¹ a historian of the fifth century B.C., states that the Pelasgians were driven out of Greece into Italy by the Greeks (ἱφ' *Ἑλλήνων*) in the reign of the Pelasgian King Nanas. Reckoning by generations from 'Pelasgus', this event would have occurred about 1600 B.C. Hellanicus seems to have been a careful investigator who paid special attention to chronology. His dates, and the one just mentioned, are ultimately based on the traditional date of the Trojan War (1194–84 B.C.); but reckoning dates by generations is a tricky business and tends to give too short a span. The date of 1600 B.C. should therefore be regarded as probably too late and in any case as a *terminus post quem* only for the hypothetical refugee movement. The Pelasgians would then have been the people who introduced the Bronze Age into Southern Italy.

But whence came the Castelluccio culture? Brea points out that it differed radically from its predecessors in Sicily and that its closest analogies are with the cultures of the islands and coastlands of the Eastern Aegean. It seems to be rooted in the culture of the Middle Helladic. The same invasion as that which forced the Pelasgians out of Greece into Italy may have driven out the inhabitants of the Eastern Aegean and compelled them to migrate westwards. Was it this or an earlier movement that carried to South Italy and Sicily the *-nt* place-names so common in south-west Anatolia?

I put forward the following reconstruction of events, emphasizing the fact that it is hypothetical, though consistent (I hope) with the evidence:—

Early in the second millennium Greek-speaking people, some of whom were afterwards called Achaeans, moved into Greece from some at present unidentified region, and eventually reached Crete. They established settlements also on the islands north-east of Crete. On the south-west coast of Anatolia they came into contact with independent kingdoms having the Hittites on their eastern frontiers. Refugees from the conquered regions fled westwards into southern Italy and Sicily where they introduced the Castelluccio culture, and may perhaps

¹ Quoted verbatim by Diodorus Siculus, I, 28.

have given *-nt* names to their settlements. (But these may be due, as Schachermeyr maintains, to earlier migrants.) They may have taken with them the knowledge of writing;² but the evidence, being restricted to durable materials such as pottery, is scanty and may be misleading. Writing may have been in common use but on perishable materials; or it may only have been used for identification purposes, as on the pots where alone it has survived.³ It was perhaps these refugees who inaugurated the Bronze Age in Southern Italy and Sicily, together with the practice of burial in rock-hewn tombs of the type found at Murgia Timone in Italy and at Castelluccio in Sicily. In Greece this Greek culture of northern origin crossed with the native Mediterranean cultures and eventually became that which archaeologists called Mycenaean, after one of its chief political centres. When they had become firmly established the Mycenaeans founded trading-posts in the East Mediterranean, and opened up trade-routes to the west which eventually brought them into contact not only with Sicily, Lipari, and Capri, but also with Spain, Southern Britain, and Ireland.

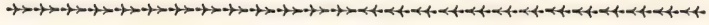
The centuries before the fourteenth century were marked by steady material progress and prosperity throughout a large part of the Old World, culminating in Boghaz Keuoi, Mycenae, the Maltese temples, El Argar in Spain, and the Wessex culture. The persistent but elusive hints of far-reaching contacts were partly the result of trading expeditions, partly of population expansion, such as always goes with material prosperity. The latter would take the form of emigration by individuals; younger sons would go abroad and start a business, and later would be joined by other members of their family. That is the pattern of population movement today; I saw it in operation at Lipari where the goal was Australia, just as once it was (for the Greeks) Sicily. The contacts thus established and no doubt maintained by travellers might well account for some of the archaeological evidence. Diodorus Siculus⁴ actually attributes the colonization of Southern Italy to this cause, namely, the dissatisfaction of Ænotrus and his brother Peucetius with their share of the land allotted to them by their father Lycaon, King of the Peloponnese at a time which by Dionysius's reckoning (for what it may be worth) would be equivalent to the end of the seventeenth century B.C. Thus, contact first started by forced emigration might have been maintained by other means, including (as later in Sicily) armed attack.

² For evidence of prehistoric writing in south-west Anatolia see Mellaart in *Anatolian Studies*, V, 1955, 80.

³ See Brea, 1952.

⁴ I, 11, 3; see also I, 16, 1.

APPENDIX III



CULT ANIMALS

THE animal heads on pot-handles in Thessaly and Italy must surely have had a cult significance if, as here maintained, the human figures had it. Animal figurines not so attached might have been toys, but when found in tombs are at least as likely to have been associated with an animal cult. They are common in Spain and in the Canary Isles and elsewhere.¹ The association of animals with ritual, at least in art, is demonstrated by the famous shell inlay of Ur,² on which a lion, bear, goat are represented performing human functions, probably in a cult-scene. Egyptian religion abounds in animal deities. These animal cults were probably rooted in the remote past even at the time of their practice, having originated in an age when the distinction between men and animals was blurred. Primitive man, says Frazer,³ 'is very far from discriminating sharply between man and the lower animals; on the contrary he commonly attributes to them a life and intelligence closely resembling his own.'

Animal cults may well have been carried westwards with those movements which brought the Faces from the East. One such is proved for Aquitania by documentary evidence. Bertoldi⁴ cites inscriptions of the Roman period translatable by their resemblance to the modern Basque and Berber languages. A votive inscription from Bagnères-de-Luchon (Haute Garonne) to 'Aherbelsti deo' means 'To the Black Ram god'; Basque *ahar*, Berber *akâr*, a ram. Another is to 'Harbelex harsi', black bear. The Basque word *beltx* means 'black' and survives in modern names such as Velasquez. It is agreed by all that Basque is a non-Indoeuropean language formerly spoken over a large area.

From the fact that 'innumerable varieties of creatures from the animal world were modelled in stone and deposited in the platform' of the Eye Temple at Brak, Mallowan infers that 'this deity was conceived as being endowed with great powers of generation'.⁵

¹ See Leisner, 1951, 145-7, Fig. 7.

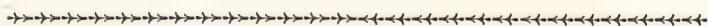
² Childe, 1952, Pl. I.

³ 1930, 216.

⁴ 1948.

⁵ *Iraq*, IX (2), 209.

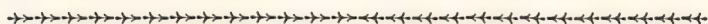
APPENDIX IV



ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool: defunct)
AfA	Archiv für Anthropologie (Brunswick)
AJ	Archaeological Journal (Royal Archaeological Institute, London)
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology (Arch. Inst. of America, Bryn Mawr)
Ant.	Antiquity
Ant. J.	Antiquaries Journal (Society of Antiquaries, London)
Arch.	Archaeologia (Society of Antiquaries, London)
AS	Anatolian Studies
BIFAN	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique noire (Dakar)
Bull. Pal.	Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana (Rome)
Bull. Soc. d'Anthr.	Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie (Paris)
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
BSPM	Bulletin de la Société de Préhistoire du Maroc
Jahrb.	Jahrbuch
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Oriental Institute, Chicago)
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (London)
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (Dublin)
Mon. Ant.	Monumenti Antichi (Rome)
NS	New Series
Not. Scav.	Notizie degli Scavi (Rome)
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (Dublin)
PSAS	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Edinburgh)
R.C. Orkney	Inventory of Orkney: 12th report of the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monu- ments of Scotland (1946)
RSE	Rassegna di Studi Etiopici (Rome)
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Rome)
UJA	Ulster Journal of Archaeology (Northern Ireland)
WAM	Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, published at Devizes by the Wilts. Arch. Soc.

APPENDIX V



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APPENDIX VI



GLOSSARY AND GAZETTEER

- ALMERIA(N), Almeria is a province of South-east Spain which formed the eastern part of the ancient Kingdom of Granada; it is rich in copper and other minerals and (probably for this reason) was an early centre of population. Los Millares and El Argar are both in this province.
- ANSA LUNATA, 'crescent handles', characteristic of the Italian and Sicilian Bronze Age.
- APOTROPAIC, that which says 'keep away'.
- BERM, a narrow space left between the foot of a bank, mound, or cairn and the ditch or peristalith.
- BONE PLAQUES, found in tombs in Spain and often carved with eyes and other magical symbols.
- BONE PLAQUES, BOSSED, found in tombs in Sicily and also found in Malta, Greece, and Troy. See *Antiquity*, XXX, 1956, 80-93.
- BOX SYMBOL; this is of two types, conical and rectangular, and is found carved on the megalithic tombs of Brittany. It may be a conventionalization of a deity, and be based on similar but more realistic representations in Iberia.
- CIST, a rectangular arrangement of stone slabs (usually four) made to contain a burial.
- CUT-OUT WARE, pottery ornamented with designs cut out while the clay was leather-hard, before it was fired.
- DIMINI, the site of a prehistoric village in Thessaly which has given its name to the second phase of the Greek neolithic period.
- DOLMEN, a fictitious word invented by nineteenth-century antiquaries to give an air of learning to their ignorance. The word is still used abroad but has been superseded in Britain by 'burial chamber'. Printed in inverted commas here when used for convenience.
- HAIR-LINES, *see* SHORT GROOVES.
- 'HENGE' MONUMENTS; the name was invented when 'Woodhenge', so called after the analogy of Stonehenge, was discovered. It is used of ritual enclosures surrounded by a ditch with (usually) an outer bank and sometimes two opposed entrance causeways.
- IBERIA, the Latin name for Spain and Portugal, here used for convenience when the whole peninsula is referred to.
- IMPRESSED WARE, pottery ornamented by incision.
- LIGURIA, the old name for what is now the French and Italian riviera.
- MASTABA, a word meaning 'bench', applied to tombs of the Early Dynastic Period in Egypt because they look like benches.
- MENHIR, a genuine Celtic word meaning 'long stone', convenient sometimes to describe standing stones (e.g. when they have fallen).
- MULTIPLE ARCS, a form of decoration found on rocks and the stones of tombs, derived (according to the thesis of this book) from the necklaces of oriental figures and perhaps also from their eyebrows, multiplied. They also occur on pottery of the western group.
- NASI, 'noses', found on the rims of pots in southern Italy and Sicily.
- PERISTALITH, a circle of large stones set upright round a burial-cairn.
- PETROGLYPHS, rock carvings that are made on *natural* rocks, not on the stones forming part of a megalithic tomb.
- PHALANGE, a bone, usually of an ox or sheep, sometimes carrying ornament. Unornamented phalanges have also been found (e.g. in the West Kennet long barrow).
- SESKLO, the site of a prehistoric village in Thessaly, which has given its name to the first phase of the Greek neolithic period.

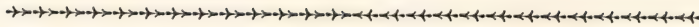
SHORT GROOVES, hair-lines on rocks and stones; they are common in the Breton tombs.

THOLOS; the 'tomb of Atreus' at Mycenae is a typical tholos, consisting of a conical domed chamber whose walls are corbelled from top to bottom. Similar chambers are found in the

west, but of course not nearly so well and carefully constructed. These are called Passage Graves.

WAVY LINES occur on rock-carvings and are interpreted in this book as derived from the conventional representation of tresses of hair.

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